Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-246
Friday
22 December 1995

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Bosnian Envoy Praises U.S., Berisha Support

AU2212101795 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 19 Dec 95

[Report by Aferdita Sokoli]

[FBIS Translated Text] The signing of the Bosnian peace agreement in Paris was the focus of today's news conference by Muharrem Zejnullahu, Bosnian charge d'affaires in Tirana, at the Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Milosevic's signing of the Dayton agreement and the recognition of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina on their part abolished once and for all the dream of Greater Serbia, Mr. Zejnullahu pointed out. He briefly mentioned the consequences of the most savage aggression in Europe after World War II and in the Bosnian Republic and Government during these four years of war. As well as confronting the aggressor, the agreement created the conditions to resolve the most severe conflicts at the end of this century in Europe through democratic ways and means.

At the same time, Mr. Zejnullahu expressed the gratitude of his government to the United States and Germany, France, more recently, and Europe, in general. He praised the support that the Albanian people, Government, and President Berisha gave to the Bosnian people through creating conditions for aerial surveillance in Albania and through its readiness to create facilities for NATO.

Mr. Zejnullahu also described the points of the Dayton agreement and the hope that it will be implemented in practice after the commitments made in Dayton, London, Bonn, and Paris. He also presented the agenda of the international meetings to substantiate the agreement, which will focus on reconstruction and international commitment.

He stressed that, alongside the international community, it is time for Albanian businessmen and state and private enterprises to be included in reconstructing Bosnia. The national property of the Bosnia-Herzegovina state, which amounts to $220 billion and is currently in the hands of the Serbian Government, is a right that belongs and should be given back to the Bosnian people in conformity with international judicial norms, Mr. Zejnullahu stressed.

The correspondents' questions focused on various aspects of the agreement, in its assurance, in the future of the Bosnian-Croat Federation, and the stance maintained by the Albanian community in Bosnia. Regarding the latter, the Bosnian charge d'affaires stressed the invaluable contribution of Albanians in Bosnia and underlined the fact that there are many Albanians who are considered heroes among the Bosnia-Herzegovina people, such as engineer Bajram Zenuni, who was killed while safeguarding television transmitters. A street near the television station has been named after him. Many Albanians who materially supported the war of the Bosnian people have been considered humanists. Many Albanian military commanders are members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Supreme Staff.

Ex-Communist Leaders Arrested Under Genocide Law

AU2212101495 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 17 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by Elio Elini: "Antigenocide—Wave of Arrests"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Tirana—There has been a wave of antigenocide arrests in the capital. Nine former senior officials of the regime have ended up behind bars, four others have been declared wanted men, and the only one to elude handcuffs has died. The mass operation began on the morning of 16 December at 0200, when the Black Maria drew up at the front door of the accused following the decision by the Tirana court. [passage omitted]

The majority of the accused were senior officials of the judiciary as investigators and procurators or were in the Interior Ministry. However, Haxhi Lleshi, Pirro Kondi, Prokop Murra, and Qirjako Mihali were senior members of the Albanian Workers Party leadership. The arrest of Mihali and Murra yesterday sent them back to the Tirana prison cells for the second time. Murra had not long ago emerged from the gates of Division No. 313 [Tirana jail], where he had been held for months on charges of "abuse of state funds." Only four of the accused on the long antigenocide list saved themselves, and Qemal Lame, Mehdi Bushati, Shkelzen Bajraktari, and Nazmi Domi apparently went abroad some time ago. Police investigations have borne no fruit, and they have now been declared wanted men. The list is headed by Haxhi Lleshi, former president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly. His political activities during the 1980's are now the basis for serious charges. He has been under house arrest since yesterday, although there was no policeman by his front door by yesterday evening. [passage omitted]

Lleshi, who has been paralyzed for four months, received the Tirana court's decision calmly, saying "The decision is unjust. I did nothing to harm the homeland and the nation. The accusations against me of crimes are absurd, because everybody has a good opinion of me." [passage omitted]

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French Minister Views EU Expansion, Kozloduy

AU2112142395 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 19 Dec 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Kozloduy Nuclear Reactor Could Decide Bulgaria's EU Membership"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Without wanting to point a finger at anyone, I must say that this issue (the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant) is especially important...and could become a decisive factor in the process of expanding the EU," Michel Barnier, French minister delegate for European affairs, said on 18 December in Sofia prior to his departure. He was in Bulgaria for two days to hold meetings with Bulgarian officials. During those meetings he drew their attention to environmental protection, nuclear safety, and everything that affects security. Mr. Barnier stated that, according to Deputy Prime Minister Kiril Tsochev, the first reactor of the Kozloduy Nuclear Plant will be switched off in April 1996. However, he also said that as far as the EU proposal to help Bulgaria by supplying energy, he had not received any reply from the Bulgarian Government. Asked about the possibility of taking Bulgaria's name off of the EU's negative list, Mr. Barnier recalled that the decision to add Bulgaria to the list had been made by consensus on the basis of a simple analysis, and that the situation in which Bulgaria has found itself could change, and that the whole situation should not be seen as an act of discrimination against Bulgaria.

Greece Signs Accords on Mesta River, Checkpoints

AU2212104595 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 22 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias arrived in Bulgaria on 22 December for a brief working visit.

At the Boyana residence Mr. Papoulias and Bulgarian Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski signed agreements on the water of the Mesta River and on establishing three new transportation-border links and checkpoints.

Those agreements herald a new stage of Bulgarian-Greek relations, and the people on both sides of the border will feel it, Georgi Pirinski said.

We signed the agreements in the interest of the two peoples, Karolos Papoulias said. European communications would not be complete without the new transportation links.

Deputy Prime Minister Doncho Konakchiev attended the ceremony.

Afterward, Mr. Papoulias and Prime Minister Zhan Videnov began a meeting.

Minister Comments on Defense Act, Other Bills

AU2112164495 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 18 Dec 95 pp 1, 3

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The National Security Concept, the military doctrine, and the Defense and Armed Forces Act are the three pillars on which the Bulgarian Army bases its activity. This is what Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov declared last night on the Efir-2 program of Bulgarian National Television. National security has no political color nor any party connotations, the minister added, and he called upon all the Bulgarian political forces to join together in solving this issue, which is so vital for our country.

The defense minister said he was pleased that parliament had passed the Defense and Armed Forces Act, describing it as an up-to-date law that brings us closer to the European Union and EU legislation. Although the passages in the law concerning pay in the armed forces had attracted most attention, Minister Pavlov pointed out that other passages concerning the civilian leadership of the armed forces are far more important.

Although not a panacea, the Defense and Armed Forces Act provides a legal foundation for solving existing problems, the minister noted. The act is producing the expected atmosphere of calm among the servicemen and is helping them to concentrate once again upon their service duties. The law also lays down the rules for transfer to regular military service and links servicemen's pay with average salaries in the state sector.

Regarding the issue of alternatives to military service, Minister Pavlov explained that the draft law that regulates this question has already been approved by the Supreme Military Council, and it is now undergoing further drafting in coordination with other bodies. The bill provides that conscripts opting for alternatives to military service should serve twice as long as the period of normal military service, that is, for 36 months. Such persons will serve in units of the Bulgarian Army in which they are not required to carry arms. The number of young men able to opt for alternative service will be determined on the basis of the demographic composition of the population and the Army's needs, while conscripts will be able to apply for exemption from military service because of their religious convictions and for social reasons.

Minister Pavlov said that the Defense Ministry leadership was now setting its sights on five no less important bills, including draft laws on the Military Police, military intelligence, and military counterintelligence. He added that the work of drafting the bills will take two months. It is clear that much more work is needed on

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drafting and adopting the new laws, statutes, ordinances, and subsidiary regulations, he said, but work on all of them is proceeding in parallel, and it is hoped that they will be adopted and put into effect before the start of the next training year.

Minister Dimitur Pavlov expressed his hope that in the very near future the new Defense and Armed Forces Act will be reinforced by the adoption of the National Security Concept and the military doctrine.

Commission Assesses 1996 Draft Defense Budget

AU2112153895 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 18 Dec 95 pp 1, 3

[Report by Major Spirdon Spirdonov: "Bulgarian Army Expects 1.2 Billion Leva for the Reform"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Defense Ministry budget for 1996 is envisioned to be 39.5 percent higher than this year's. Despite this, the draft budget does not satisfy the army's needs, especially regarding equipment supplies and re-armament. This is the view of the National Security Commission. In the process of the internal restructuring of expenditure, the amounts spent on equipment supplies have almost doubled, but this is not enough to cover the costs of maintenance, spare parts, new weapons, and modernization. The commission's members believe that the necessary funding has not been provided for the troops' combat and physical training, for the operational training of headquarters staff, and the work of the military science institutes and research units. They took note of the Defense Ministry's demand for 7 billion leva [Lv] more and advised the ministry's leadership to review its expenditure plans, to identify unused internal resources, and to increase its efforts to find buyers for the arms and materiel scheduled for destruction under the CFE Treaty.

On 15 December Prime Minister Zhan Videnov and Finance Minister Dimitur Kostov presented the 1996 draft budget to the National Assembly. The draft budget allocates almost Lv52 billion for defense and security, including the military judiciary. It allocates Lv33,485,800,000 to the Defense Ministry, Lv12,171,700,000 to the Interior Ministry, Lv358 million for Civil Defense, 321 million for the National Protection Service, 356 million for the National Intelligence Service, 308 million for the Todor Kableshkov Higher Military Technical School, 99 million for the Lyuben Karavelov Higher Military School, 105 million for the Construction Troops Railroad Training School in Gorna Oryakhovitsa, a little more than Lv1 billion for the Military Medical Academy, Lv4,345,000 for the Union of Veterans and War Victims in Bulgaria, Lv5,379,000 for pensions for World War II servicemen, and so forth.

According to the government's report, the funds allocated will ensure the supply of rations and meet the daily needs of the conscripts. The government also reported on the costs of providing materials, rations and health care services for the other military servicemen, noting that Lv1.2 billion is earmarked for the reform in the Bulgarian Army in accordance with the Concept for the Period Until the Year 2000 that the Council of Ministers has approved. The draft budget also covers the cost of compensating dismissed servicemen, in conformity with the effective legislation in this field and the applications submitted by the relevant ministries and departments.

The government did not conceal the fact that although the funds allocated to the Defense Ministry for equipment supplies will help to maintain the existing weapons and combat equipment in a serviceable condition overall, a comprehensive solution of the problem will only be achieved in the medium to long term. The Defense Ministry draft budget allocates Lv3.7 billion for new equipment and maintenance of aviation equipment, paid out of the $48 million that Russia owes Bulgaria. When the Russian side has fulfilled its concluded contracts, 54 aircraft and helicopters will enter service, and six new Yak-18T training aircraft will be purchased. During 1996 we will receive from Russia free of charge 100 T-72 tanks, 100 APC's, and 12 Mi-24 helicopters, with a total value of Lv2,254 million. This will lead to a qualitative improvement of the Bulgarian Army's equipment and will release old equipment, against which the Defense Ministry will receive additional extrabudgetary funds for necessary weapons and supplies not covered by the budget. The draft budget allocates Lv160 million for the shipment of equipment. In addition to the foregoing sums for equipment supplies, the Defense Ministry is allocated Lv2,668 million for the acquisition of locally produced and imported munitions and for maintenance. We will pay Lv700 million of the money owed to the Russian Defense Ministry for materiel and armaments supplied in 1990. A sum of Lv200 million is allocated for development work on new projects for modernizing and improving the existing weapons and equipment used by the Bulgarian Army. It also emerged from the government's report that the budget covers the cost of the pay and other monetary allowances made to military personnel.

The National Security Commission recommends to the government that in the course of its further work on the draft budget it would also account for the expenditure arising from the recently adopted Defense and Armed Forces Act. During the second reading

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of the draft budget, the commission recommends that priority should be given to spending on defense and security. It is convinced that the intentions to optimize the taxation, customs duty, and foreign trade regulations, combined with the highly professional and scrupulous work carried out the State Chamber of Accounts, may produce additional funds, part of which can be allocated to the Armed Forces. The deputies serving on the National Security Commission are in agreement that the Interior Ministry's subsidy should be increased by Lv835 million, the subsidy of the National Protection Service—by about Lv70 million, and the Civil Defense subsidy—by about Lv6 million.

Court Says Zhelev Can Make Po' tical Statements

AU2112192895 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today the members of the Constitutional Court unanimously decided that the president personnifies the national and state entity of the Republic of Bulgaria. According to the court, the head of state is not a depoliticized state body and he may make statements and addresses of major political importance.

On the question whether the president violated the Constitution, when during the local elections he called on people to vote for Stefan Sofiyanski [new mayor of Sofia], the Constitutional Court responded by ruling that this is a specific issue that must be assessed separately, if an accusation is made in accordance with the provisions of Article 103 of the Constitution.

NEC Chief Rules Out Winter Power Shortages

AU2212080495 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] There are no worries about satisfying electric power requirements during the winter season, Trifon Tsvetkov, executive director of the National Electricity Company, [NEC] announced today. He said that five of the reactor units at Kozloduy are operating at a total output of 3,000 megawatts, and the No. 4 unit will come into service in two or three days. In addition, all the power generators at the Maritsa-Iztok thermoelectric plants are working at full capacity.

At the end of the year, the NEC expects to report losses of 2 billion leva [Lv]. The company's own debts total Lv4.5 billion, while the NEC's creditors owe it Lv6 billion; most of the money is owed by the briquette plant and industrial enterprises.

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Ratification of Treaty With Hungary Postponed

LD2112154695 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0600 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We have already reported that the 12th Session of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [Parliament] ended last night. During the last day of the session, the deputies spent almost seven hours debating one item — the proposal to ratify the Slovak-Hungarian Treaty on goodneighborliness and friendly cooperation.

The lengthy debate on this point ended with the National Council passing a resolution saying that the ratification process continues, and that the debate and the final vote on the ratification of the basic treaty are postponed to the next parliamentary session. We have asked Dusan Slobodnik, foreign committee chairman, whether or not the public at large is not likely to see this decision as some kind of a tactical move on our part.

[Slobodnik] No, it should not. You see, we will notify the Council of Europe — and that's what we are going to do — that we have serious doubts indeed about the ambiguity of the interpretation of [Council of Europe] Recommendation No. 1201 [that all ethnic minorities be granted the right to autonomous bodies]. We also know — and I know this because I attend its sessions — that the Council of Europe is viewing this recommendation rather negatively, and that it is aimed at getting it out of the game, as it were, and adopt other measures in its place, for which the Council of Ministers has asked. On the basis of this I think that the Council of Europe will understand us, because they themselves are having problems with this issue. [passage omitted]

Nobody should ask Slovakia to be a guinea pig for the whole of Europe by asking it to adopt treaties which include Recommendation No. 1201.

I think this is an altogether normal democratic process to which each state is entitled to. There should be no consequences, moreover, when they [the Council of Europe] learn what I have just told you and what you yourself heard — that we intend to ratify this treaty and we want to ratify it. But of course, we are a bit concerned over 1201, and we would like an explanation of it. As early as tomorrow I shall be writing to the legal section of the Council of Europe in it I will ask, also in connection with this treaty, for a final and unambiguous explanation.

Meciar Comments on Debate

AU2112164595 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by "vy": "Will the Treaty Not Be Ratified Until the Next Meeting?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava — Speaking on yesterday's television program "What Next, Prime Minister?" about today's discussion of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty in the National Council of the Slovak Republic, Vladimir Meciar qualified the dispute that has erupted over the document 1201 [Council of Europe recommendation] as blown out of proportion. He stressed that the treaty does not contain any provisions that would damage the Slovak Republic. "We have held consultations on the Slovak National Party [SNS] representative's attitude. I consider this attitude unsuitable in relation to the contents of the treaty and unprofessional [nekvalifikovane] in relation to the coalition partner. As far as the political position of the SNS is concerned, it is only its opinion and it does not mean a break in coalition cooperation. The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] proceeds in its policy from consistent protection of national interests, understanding them in a broader than nationalist sense." A discussion on the treaty is under way also within the HZDS. Vladimir Meciar said that the votes of the government coalition will suffice to approve it. A discussion is now taking place within the government coalition on how to approve the treaty and how to give it an unambiguous interpretation. Government coalition deputies are working on a document that would help unify the interpretation, and arrive at a common interpretation, in order to reach broader societal consensus. If such a standpoint is approved in parliament on Wednesday [20 December], coalition deputies will support the treaty; if not, it will be prudent to delay the treaty's ratification until later, until consensus on the supplementary document is reached, he stressed. He admitted that the treaty may not be ratified on Wednesday, but he assumes that this could happen at the next parliamentary session.

Treaty Approval Would Be 'Irresponsible Risk'

AU2112182495 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 19 Dec 95 p 3

[Commentary by Eva Kristinova: "Great Hungarian Chauvinism Is Still Alive" — passages in capital letters as published]

[FBIS Translated Text] I was greatly surprised by Jergus Ferko's brilliantly written lobbying for the ratification of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty at the 12th session of the National Council of the Slovak Republic. I consider

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it my duty to contradict him because, in the present situation, rash ratification of the treaty, the way the treaty is conceived now, would mean a definitive defeat for us.

In our conciliatory disposition, we gave credence to the sincerity of neighboring Hungary's efforts to end the centuries-old tensions and the resulting distrust between the Slovak Republic and the Hungarian Republic. This is why our prime minister and minister of foreign affairs signed the interstate treaty in Paris regarding the inclusion of [Council of Europe] Recommendation No. 1201 as a "poetic ornament" designed to make the treaty passable in the Hungarian Parliament. They insured their perception of the treaty with an addendum, which was endorsed also by the Hungarian side. One cannot doubt for even one second that Prime Minister Meciar really sought the start of normal, favorable relations between the two neighboring states, relations from which both of them would derive profit. These efforts of the prime minister are incontestable, because in the same spirit he also successfully negotiated with representatives of all the other neighboring states. Therefore, his accommodating step cannot be condemned in any case.

As for the other contracting party, it has, unfortunately, become apparent once again that our partner understands his statements about the endeavor to end tensions in the intentions of the policies of pre-1918 Hungary, which has, thank God, been dead for more than 70 years, and the subsequent irredentist policies of Horthyite Hungary, which ceased to exist 50 years ago. With his unequivocal reactions, our partner proves that he still is neither able, nor willing, to rid himself of the sick desire to control from the position of power the entire territory of pre-1918 Hungary, which he calls the "Carpathian basin." I am speaking about statements and international steps by the official representatives of the neighboring state, be it Foreign Minister Kovacs or Messrs. Tabajdi, Szentivanyi, and others.

Because when it comes to the Great Hungarian understanding of domestic and foreign state policy, the coalition and the opposition of the neighboring state are united in a touching way, and because they are unable and unwilling to realize that these are dangerous relics of a past that will never come back, it is our holy duty to react to this fact in the sole possible way:

WE MUST LET THE WHOLE WORLD KNOW IN A DIGNIFIED WAY THAT WE ARE EXTREMELY SORRY, BUT: AS LONG AS THE HUNGARIAN SIDE WILL NOT GET RID OF ITS MEGALOMANIA AND THE CONCOMITANT DISREGARD FOR THE RIGHT OF THE NEIGHBORING SOVEREIGN SLOVAK REPUBLIC TO MANAGE ITS OWN INTERNAL STATE AFFAIRS ACCORDING TO THE COMMON NEEDS OF ALL ITS CITIZENS AND AS LONG AS IT WILL CONTINUE TO PUT FORWARD RUTHLESS DEMANDS GOING BEYOND THE LIMITS OF THE ALREADY ABOVE-STANDARD RIGHTS OF THE HUNGARIAN ETHNIC MINORITY LIVING IN THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC, WE CANNOT AFFORD TO RATIFY THE TREATY THAT THE SLOVAK PRIME MINISTER SIGNED IN PARIS, IN GOOD FAITH IN THE SINCERITY OF THE HUNGARIAN SIDE.

This is not an expression of distrust in Vladimir Meciar and his government. IT IS THE OFFICIAL EXPRESSION OF DISTRUST IN THE SINCERITY OF HUNGARIAN EFFORTS TO BRING TO AN END THE DANGER OF A CONFLICT, A DANGER THEY ARE, IN FACT, CREATING THROUGH THEIR PERMANENT INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC. IT REALLY IS HIGH TIME TO SUMMON THE COURAGE TO TAKE THIS STEP.

AS LONG AS THE HUNGARIAN SIDE WILL NOT LIQUIDATE THE DANGEROUS RELICT OF ITS PAST, GREAT HUNGARIAN CHAUVINISM, which has repeatedly brought us its bloody fruits, also in this century (in the wake of the Vienna Arbitrage [of November 1938, ceding parts of southern Slovakia to Hungary], for example), THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC CANNOT AFFORD TO TAKE THE IRRESPONSIBLE RISK AND RATIFY, UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE SLOVAK-HUNGARIAN TREATY.

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'Irregularities' Found in Russian Oil Deals

LD2112210095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In their inquiry into the settlement of the Russian state debt and oil imports, the staff of the Prime Minister's Office did not find any data that would indicate a violation of the law. They concluded, however, that there have been irregularities and shortcomings in the mentioned transactions.

It is known that, two weeks ago, deputies of the three opposition parties accused the current and former industry ministers of giving unfair advantages to certain entrepreneurs who were connected with the Socialist Party [HSP].

This was announced by Elemer Kiss, administrative state secretary at the Prime Minister's Office. He also added that the members of the government must avoid giving any impression that there may be a connection between the actors of the political and trade scenes.

UDMR's Takacs Views Relations, Iliescu's Offer

AU2212080195 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 21 Dec 95 p 9

[Interview with Csaba Takacs, executive deputy chairman of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, by Ferenc Garzo; place and date not given: "The UDMR and Iliescu's Proposals—Csaba Takacs on Hungarian-Romanian Relations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In recent days, representatives of the Hungarians in Romania have had a chance to consult on the Hungarian reply to be given to Romanian President Iliescu's initiative for reconciliation in Budapest. The leadership of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] held discussions on this issue with Csaba Tabajdi, political state secretary at the Prime Minister's Office, and Laszlo Labody, chairman of the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Border. Csaba Takacs, executive deputy chairman of the UDMR, was also present at the talks. We asked him to assess bilateral relations in light of the emerging Hungarian reply.

[Takacs] I would like to start by a correction. I would not consider the Romanian president's memorandum as an initiative. It is true that the way it was brought to public attention undoubtedly does credit to Romanian foreign policy's skillfulness. Usually, the difference between the Romanian and Hungarian proposals is that the Romanian side is based on making peace through declarative pronouncements while, according to the Hungarian side, having to find concrete solutions to the disputed issues is a basic condition for good-neighborly relations and cooperation.

Obviously, the deteriorating situation of Hungarians in Romania is the biggest problem. The education law is one reason for this, and the other is that the Romanian language has been made the absolute rule in public administration and in important areas of public life. Therefore, only a meaningless answer can be given to a meaningless initiative for agreement. However, in my experience, Hungarian foreign policy would at least try to fill the process of reconciliation [megbekelesi] with content.

You have probably noticed that I am avoiding the terms conciliation [kiegyezes] and historic reconciliation [megbekeles]. In my view, there is no point in talking about historic reconciliation between the two states. Hungary and Romania have not had hundreds of years of war with each other like Germany and France, did not fight against each other like the Balkan people did with the Turks, or Poland with Russia. The question arises: Between whom would this peace be made? Between the Romanian and Hungarian states? Or between the states giving home to the Hungarians who found themselves beyond the border, and the Hungarian state?

In my view, we should instead be talking about reconciliation between the minority ethnic groups, who suffered the consequences of the super power peace treaties, and the given states. These states acquired huge territories after the decisions made around Paris, and 3.5 million Hungarians were added to this. These Hungarians are the thorns of the territorial gains and the relevant states would like to pull out these thorns. However, these thorns very much insist on their place of birth. Therefore, in this issue, reconciliation has to be made with the sections of the Hungarian nation who found themselves living abroad.

[Garzo] Does this mean that the key to the solution is not in the hands of the Hungarian Government?

[Takacs] Naturally, the responsibility of the Hungarian state cannot be ignored in this issue. For example, the Kadar regime simply wiped it out of the conscience of Hungary's population that a nearly 3.5 million strong Hungarian community also exists. The succeeding governments have dealt with the issue since 1989. We do expect this, but not in an aggressive way because mutual interests are involved. All Budapest governments should conduct their politics with the goal in mind that the Hungarians beyond the border should as strongly as possible wish to consummate their own national identity in the country where they reside. Emigration largely depends on the Hungarian Government's politics, on what it undertakes to do, and to what extent the Hungarians

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beyond the border trust the Hungarian Government. If they do not trust it, then they move to Hungary. If they do have trust, then they remain at home.

[Garzo] All in all, how do you assess the Hungarian Government's activities in this area this year?

[Takacs] Hungarian foreign policy still has detours and vacillations. Much cooperation and coordination is needed, and the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Border has taken on a major role in this. It is possible that this office has not always been attractive for certain government factors but it managed to counterbalance—primarily on a professional level—the feeling of want which was formed in the Hungarians beyond the border during a very bad election campaign.

Thinking about the events of the past six months, our assessment has improved, especially in light of the fact that this government did not enter into signing a basic treaty which would not even have contained the minimal guarantees. For Hungary, foreign political success is only ensured if, together with the neighboring countries, it solves the situation of the national minorities living in these countries.

MATAV Sells Shares to German-U.S. Consortium

AU2212080595 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Dec 95 p 5

[Report by "K.Sz.A.": "$852 Million for MATAV Shares"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Some 37 percent of the Hungarian Telecommunications Corporation's [MATAV] shares were sold on 20 December for 117 billion forints [Ft].

According to the agreement, MagyarCom—a consortium of Deutsche Telekom AG and Ameritech International—is increasing its share in MATAV, so far 30-percent, to 67 percent. The value of the package of shares bought by the German-U.S. consortium is $852 million or Ft117 billion. The Hungarian state will keep 25 percent of MATAV's shares plus one vote. In addition to this, 2.5 percent of MATAV's shares have been put aside for its workers.

Karoly Lotz, minister for transport, telecommunications, and water management, said that during the talks, they insisted that the conditions of the concession agreement signed in 1993 should also remain in force in the future. The share of the Deutsche Telekom and Ameritec continues to be 50 percent each in MagyarCom. In addition to this, MATAV will have to keep its annual 15-percent development rate. Lotz added that during the talks they also agreed on the conditions for reselling the MATAV shares. According to this, MagyarCom can sell maximum 24 percent of the shares it purchased.

We also learned that MagyarCom will probably have to introduce the MATAV shares to the stock market after December 1997. The proportion of shares offered for sale here will have to reach 15 percent.

Privatization Minister Tamas Suchman talked to NEPSZABADSAG after the signing.

[Suchman] In March, when I accepted the task from the prime minister, I knew that this was an important issue for Hungary in economic, financial, and political terms. I said then that I understood the task and knew what I was requested to do by the prime minister—I actually knew that many people doubted this. It is a memorable stage in my political career that I was able to inform the prime minister on the eve of 20 December that I fulfilled the task he and the parliamentary group had assigned me. The gross income secured by contracts is [Ft]457 billion and the cash is [Ft]429 billion, much of which will be received this year.

National Assembly Approves Media Bill

LD2112204095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Hungarian parliament has approved the media bill with over 90 percent of votes in favor.

In addition to the government parties, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party [FIDESZ-MPP] voted in favor of the bill. The Independent Smallholders Party [FKGP] rejected the bill while the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] was divided on the vote.

Following several years of political dispute, the legal framework for the operation of national commercial radio and television stations has now been created. The second channel of Hungarian television and Radio Danubius will be privatized, and the public service radio and television stations, as well as Duna television, will function as joint-stock companies in which public foundations will run them and a board of trustees will lead them, thus guaranteeing social control. [passage omitted]

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UK Minister: 'Robust Action' If Accord Broken

AU2112182395 Paris AFP in English 1802 GMT 21 Dec 95

[By Edina Neretljak]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 21 (AFP) — British Defence Secretary Michael Portillo flew into Sarajevo on Thursday and warned that anybody intent on breaking the Dayton peace agreement would face "robust action" from NATO-led troops.

"We are going to be even-handed, we are going to use persuasion where we can, but we have the weaponry and will-power to ensure that the peace agreement is enforced", Portillo told AFP in an interview.

"If any breakaway faction thinks that it can question the authority of the Dayton agreement they must think again," he added.

He added that the NATO Implementation Force (IFOR) was seeking to ensure that the parties honour the accord, by making them realise that it was not "worthwhile trying to break the agreement."

Portillo arrived in Sarajevo after visiting British troops who are deploying in the central Bosnian town of Gornji Vakuf, the divisional headquarters of the British NATO troops in Bosnia.

There, he witnessed the transfer of authority between United Nations and the IFOR on Wednesday.

The defence secretary said Britain would soon have 13,000 of its troops deployed in Bosnia, where "we will be bringing in Challenger tanks, 155-mm heavy artillery and attack helicopters, so we will have robust weaponry."

"We hope this will produce deterrence," he said.

Portillo added that the British troops "who are most probably the most experienced peacekeepers in the world" do not wish to be involved in fighting.

But "if persuasion does not work then we will have the will-power to ensure that the agreement be implemented anyway."

After arriving here, Portillo met with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, and briefed him on the British troop deployment.

"The president was pleased ith our deployment on both sides of the confrontation line, particularly that we were already on Bosnian Serb territory," he said.

The British official was due to leave Sarajevo Thursday at the end of his Bosnian visit.

EU Envoy Foresees Difficulties in Implementation

AU2112174995 Paris AFP in English 1735 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 21 (AFP) — Implementation of the civilian aspects of the Dayton peace accord in Bosnia will face many problems, Carl Bildt, EU High Representative in charge of overseeing the process, said here Thursday.

The civilian implementation is "a long[illegible]n effort," Bildt said in Sarajevo after meeting Bosnian authorities with whom he discussed the implementation.

"I expect a lot of difficulties ahead, and building trust among the people will be the most difficult task," Bildt warned.

"I don't think that anyone is under the impression that one year from now everything will have been solved.

There are no guarantees in this, except the common will that I see from all of the peoples to go from war to peace," he said.

Bildt, in his first visit to Sarajevo as the High Representative, said he would be opening his office in the Bosnian capital on either January 2 or 3.

The Swedish diplomat confirmed the common belief that implementation of the military part of the accord will be much easier than that of the civilian one and that the two will not move along at the same pace.

Meanwhile Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said that as a confidence-building measure the Bosnian side was trying to reestablish telephone lines with the Bosnian Serb side.

Silajdzic Comments on Talks With Admiral Smith

AU2112202895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Dec 95

[Statement by Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Silajdzic, after a meeting with Admiral Leighton Smith, in Sarajevo on 21 December — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] I will have to say a few words in our own language, the Bosnian language. [preceding sentence in English] I took the opportunity to tell General Smith a couple of words about my standpoint on everything that has happened here, the reasons for it, and also what should be done to achieve a stable peace.

Above all, I am happy that this moment has come. We have worked on it for long four years. We have worked on this for a full four years,s and we have finally succeeded. Our position has always been that somebody must end this. Either we are allowed to do so — to have

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the arms embargo against us lifted to make us equal in order to establish peace and an equilibrium of power — or the international community should does this. The international community has arrived late. Unfortunately, [words indistinct] to restore peace and work on the balancing of powers.

I also took this opportunity to tell Mr. Smith, in a longer debate, a little about our history, about Bosnia, about our struggle, how we succeeded empty handed, so to speak, to defend ourselves thanks to the bravery of our soldiers and the civic courage and resistance of all our people. Therefore, my warmest welcome to General Smith and his soldiers. Thank you very much!

Sarajevo Mayor Protests IFOR-Serb Lease-Contract

AU2112165995 Paris AFP in English 1639 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 21 (AFP) — Sarajevo Mayor Tarik Kupusovic on Thursday sent a protest to the NATO Implementation Force (IFOR) only 24 hours after the force took over from the UN, the official BH PRESS agency said.

"We have been informed that you concluded a lease-contract with Nedjeljko Prstojevic, representative of the illegal Bosnian Serb authorities," the mayor said in his protest to British General Sir Michael Walker, the commander of IFOR ground troops in Bosnia.

Bosnian Serb television showed images Wednesday of IFOR representatives signing a deal with Prstojevic, a mayor of the Serb-held western suburb of Ilidza, on IFOR's use of the Ilidza hotel-complex as of January 1.

Kupusovic said that any lease contract should be concluded exclusively with the Bosnian government authorities because "Ilidza is a component part of united Sarajevo."

Ilidza is one of the Serb-held parts of Sarajevo that are to be given back to the Bosnian government under the Dayton peace accord.

"We think that the deal in question was concluded by an unauthorized person and such a practice is completely unacceptable for us," Kupusovic said.

"Such behaviour is even more surprising since the IFOR representatives did not make any contract with the Bosnian government on use of the facilities in the city, previously used by the UN," the mayor went on.

This was the first protest by the Bosnian authorities to IFOR.

Spanish General on UNPROFOR-IFOR Transfer

BR2112153295 Madrid ABC in Spanish 21 Dec 95 p 32

[Interview with Spanish General Abad Ripoll, deputy commander of IFOR, by Ramiro Villapadierna in Sarajevo; date not given: "United Nations' Effort Not Highlighted in Dayton"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A thick layer of snow decoratively covered the Sarajevo airport yesterday for the UN withdrawal ceremony. A little while ago, it did not seem possible that the blue helmets would leave in such a way. They are leaving behind three and a half years of hard work for which they had no guide, as well as many lives on a field without honor. In recognition of their highly appreciated efforts, Mostar has set up the almost unique Square of the Spanish Soldiers.

Subliminally, with NATO's entrance into Bosnia, the electric light went on over Sarajevo, in an almost normal supply. At 1000 GMT, in a one-minute ceremony, the formerly respected blue UN flag was lowered, with a sigh of general relief, thus ending the most expensive operation in its history.

The devastated surroundings of the Sarajevo airport perfectly symbolized one of its major failures: the strangulation of the Bosnian capital.

The snow helped fade out the day of farewell and the hurried exchange of insignias of its supreme commander, French General Bernard Janvier, who has signed on again as the deputy commander of IFOR [Implementation Force].

Spanish General Abad Ripoll, one of its deputy commanders and leader of the Spanish contingent, explained the biggest transfer of command in military history.

[Ripoll] With its broadened mandate, UNPROFOR (Bosnia) will continue until 31 January, but since yesterday the authority has been transferred to IFOR — with the intergration of units, the transfer of logistical arrangements, and the withdrawal of the rest. In Croatia (UNCRO), they will stay on until 15 January. Then an international force, possibly made up of some 9,000 men, will be placed in the former Eastern Sector (eastern Slovenia).

[Villapadierna] What equipment, people, and commands will be turned over to NATO?

[Ripoll] We will soon know which states will contribute to IFOR. Spain will continue to be represented by the Aragon Group and the Advanced Logistics Echelon as the basic core, though a General Brigade Headquarters will be incorporated into the command structure, as

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well as a small Tactical Intelligence Unit. The total number of Spanish troops (on the ground) will increase to around 1,300.

[Villapadierna] What will your function be now?

[Ripoll] With the arrival of NATO/IFOR, my function here (second chief of staff, logistics and administration) and the function of my personal staff — where there are six Spanish soldiers, another five in the logistics section — will continue, but beginning on 1 February, I will be chief of staff for General Barry Ashton, the new supreme commander, since Janvier will be made IFOR's second in command. The mission should be wound up in March.

[Villapadierna] As the person in charge of logistics, how has this famous withdrawal been organized?

[Ripoll] In full coordination with the civilian organization. The civilian organization controls the resources and gives us the resources that the units need (vehicles, equipment, lifesaving devices, food, and fuel) and we military men coordinate movements, rotations, and evacuations. The withdrawal is not something sudden. Since late August, following instructions from the UN General Secretariat, we have been repatriating the battalions in Croatia, except for eastern Slavonia. Our logistics staff has withdrawn nine battalions — 8,337 men — on a regular basis until just a few days ago. In Bosnia, back in October we began withdrawing batallions and changing them into a model contingent of 971 people, in anticipation of IFOR's arrival. In this way we avoid mutual interference and blocking ports and airports. The aim was also to recover the greatest number of accomodation containers and installations for IFOR, which were invented specifically for this war. The great success can be seen in the fact that, except for a couple of battalions still in Bosnia, all of the soldiers on the ground have been transformed into part of IFOR. So far we have repatriated 7,233 men and five battalions.

[Villapadierna] Is there still tension between NATO and the United Nations?

[Ripoll] Everything is fine for the time being. We have received the preliminary plans from NATO headquarters and our corrections have been included in the final plan. There have been continual joint meetings and there is full cooperation. We have to think of all the difficulties that the units will face, redeployments, changes of location, changes to missions, rules of engagement. At headquarters there are problems with the overlapping of similar bodies until the full transfer of responsibilities, the lack of physical space, and the fact that two organizations are working on the same dispatches at the same time, each with differing methods of internal security. As for logistics, now each and every one of the contingents will pay its own way.

[Villapadierna] Will equipment "get lost" in the withdrawal?

[Ripoll] All of the military equipment deployed is returning to the countries of origin. There have been some cases of individuals selling their arms (guns or rifles), but they have been few and far between given the number of soldiers. There were more than 54,000 troops in the area this summer.

[Villapadierna] It seems that France and its retinue of reconstruction companies is holding on to Mostar to the detriment of the Spanish.

[Ripoll] I do not think we can take things out of context. Yes, the French are already in Mostar, not because it is a "plot" by them but because they are part of the general deployment of three divisions in the delimited zones. The command (IFOR) has already decided that Spain will have a Brigade Headquarters, in charge of the Aragon Group and a second battalion whose nationality has not yet been decided.

[Villapadierna] Did you ever think that they would do so well out of Bosnia?

[Ripoll] I do not want to get into politics, but I do want to stress that the UN forces laid the foundation for reaching a more favorable solution than what was apparent a few months ago. Apart from the enormous financial effort, there was the sacrifice of 215 blue helmets — 15 of whom were Spaniards — and civilian staff, and the pain of 1,000 wounded. All of this deserved to reach this turning point which, surprisingly, was not stressed in Dayton. Among the general cheer today, this causes a certain sadness.

Karadzic: Serbs 'Do Not Feel Safe' in Sarajevo

LD2112154195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1452 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 21 Dec (SRNA) — Shortly after 1200 today, Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic met Angelo Gnadinger, head of the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] for central Europe and the Balkans; Sandro Barani, head of the ICRC office for the Serb Republic; and Christophe Girod, Barani's deputy.

Their talks were devoted to the problem of Serb Sarajevo.

Ahead of the meeting Karadzic told SRNA it is "obvious the Serbs in Sarajevo do not feel safe."

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"We want the Serbs to remain in Sarajevo, but we shall not force them to stay. The international community must resolve this problem which it created itself by forcing the Serbs and Muslims to live together in the same city," the Serb Republic president said.

Ljiljana Zelen-Karadzic, chair of the republican Red Cross Committee, and Health Minister Dragan Kalinic are also attending the talks.

Data on Generals in Bosnian Army Provided

96BA0037A Sarajevo FOCUS in Serbo-Croatian 31 Oct 95 p 10

[Article by Rusmir Masic: "Has This Struggle of Ours Given Us Too Many or Too Few Generals?"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpts] It is established practice in every army for victories in war to bring early promotions to those commanders who have won them. In spite of the truly splendid results on the battlefield and the liberation of immense territory, in the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina this year there has been only one promotion to general: Brigade General Atif Dudakovic, commander of the famed 5th Corps, has one more lily and is now a division general. In the meantime, some brigadiers have been appointed corps commanders and have automatically arrived at commands usually held by generals.

Has the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as the supreme command of the armed forces of the state, tightened its criteria, or is it waiting for the end of the year to draw the line and finally decide who is to be given the rank of brigade general and who should possibly be promoted to the rank of division general? If, of course, it is found that some of the officers deserve that rank. And while an answer to that question is awaited, another question arises: How many generals does the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina have, and where are they now?

Fourteen on Active Duty

Since the second half of 1993, when ranks were established in our Army, 23 officers have been promoted to the rank of general. Fourteen of those are now serving in posts in the General Staff of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Ministry of Defense, five hold posts outside the armed forces, and four have retired. One could say that these are relatively few generals for an army of 200,000 men. Especially at the corps level, where at the moment there are only two commanders with that rank, but it should be borne in mind that very soon, under peacetime conditions, the Army will be considerably reduced, so that an inflation of wartime generals could become ballast in peacetime.

Be that as it may, in specific terms the corps of generals looks this way at present: In the General Staff of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, there are Army General Rasim Delic, its commander; Brigade Gen. Enver Hadzihasanovic, chief of staff; Brigade Gen. Jovan Divjak, assistant; and the members: Mustafa Hajrulahovic, Ramiz Drekovic, Vahid Karavelic, Rasid Zorlak, Jusuf Jasarevic, and Sulejman Vranj, all of them brigade generals. The corps commanders are Division Gen. Atif Dudakovic (in the 5th) and Brigade Gen. Mehmed Alagic (in the 7th Corps). Brigade Generals Munib Bisic, Meho Karisik, and Ramiz Suvalic are working in the Ministry of Defense.

Five active generals have spent a short or long time in posts outside the Army and the Ministry of Defense: Stjepan Siber is military attache in Bern, Hazim Sadic holds the same post in Ankara, while Arif Pasalic will soon go to Bonn, also as military attache. Gen. Fikret Muslimovic is advisor to the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Gen. Sefer Halilovic still has not been officially assigned since he received that rank, although the post of military attache in Washington awaits him.

Active military service has terminated for Brigade Generals Rifat Bilajac, Zicra Suljevic, Fikret Jakic, and Muharem Fetahagic. It is of interest that Jukic and Fetahagic were generals even in the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. The main reason for the retirement of these four generals is their age and poor health.

With only 14 active generals, is there a shortage of generals in the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

How Others Do It

When comparisons are made to the number of generals in neighboring countries, or even those in the American Army, the shortage is quite pronounced, but it is relative. For example, in the Croatian Army there are 35 active generals at the level of the Ministry of Defense, the General Staff, and the six corps districts, most of whom are major generals, while only one active officer and one retired officer have the rank of corps general. In the Yugoslav aggressor army, there are 52 active generals in their General Staff, the commands of three armies, and corps, most of them major generals. [passage omitted]

There are armies in which generals are a rarity, for example in Slovenia, where there are only 10 or so, and there are others (in Africa) where the army is small, but there are generals at every step. Everything depends on the country and its personnel policy in the army, but also on the privileges afforded by the rank of general.

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In the former JNA, colonels scrambled to get the rank of general, because it brought numerous advantages—from villas and huge apartments to high salaries, token rents on suites in military resorts, and boxes in soccer stadiums. That is why in some periods the "JNA" had as many as 120 generals, among them some who held invented posts with no responsibility whatsoever. It is to be hoped that our army will not "suffer from a syndrome like that."

New Candidates

Nevertheless, it is most likely that the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina will soon be getting new generals.

The candidates include not only those holding the post of corps commander, but also brigadiers who have displayed the qualities of generals during the war and whose specific deeds have brought them to the very top of the Army's personnel. Those with hopes for the rank of brigade general are: Sakib Mahmuljin (3d Corps), Sead Delic (2d Corps), Mustafa Polutak (4th Corps), and Nedzad Ajnadzic (1st Corps).

Those brigadiers who do not hold posts at the general level, but who in the context of the criteria are ready for the rank of general include: Mirsad Selmanovic, chief of staff of the 5th Corps; Fikret Cuskic, chief of staff of the 7th Corps; Asim Dzambasovic, commander of a coordinated unit; and several other hardworking and valuable officers.

The next move is up to the country's presidency.

Mujahidin Commander in Bosnia Interviewed

96BA0036A Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Nov 95 p 16

[Interview with Abu El Ma'ali, commander of the El Mujahid Detachment, by Zeljko Garmaz, in a military camp near Zenica; date not given: "The CIA Forced Croatia To Arrest Fuad Qassem, and Rijeka Had To Pay the Price"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The consequences of the tragedy in Rijeka when a car bomb exploded still have not been totaled, and new threats have already been made to the Republic of Croatia. Allegedly, the arrest of Talaat Fuad Qassem by Croatian authorities drove the militant Islamic organization Jammaa Islamyii to declare a virtual "holy war" against Croatia and Croats. NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA reporters therefore went to the main mujahidin camp in Bosnia-Herzegovina, located in the Vatrostalno Factory in Pobrijezje near Zenica, for a face-to-face conversation with Abu El Ma'ali, the Algerian who commands the El Mujahid Detachment, in an attempt to learn something in more detail about the seriousness of the threat of Jammaa Islamyii, the presence of members of that organization in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Islamic terrorism, the conflict of the mujahidin with members of the British contingent in the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]....*

[Garmaz] At the beginning of the interview, we would like you to comment on the unfortunate event that occurred in Rijeka, for which the Egyptian Islamic organization Jammaa Islamyii took credit.

[El Ma'ali] I think it would be essential to speak first about the reasons behind what happened in Rijeka. It is obvious that the Republic of Croatia was probably forced to get involved in the matter by foreign intelligence services. I am referring above all to the CIA and the Egyptian secret service! We might begin with the question: How did it happen that the Republic of Croatia arrested a person who had obtained asylum in Denmark and who entered Croatia with legal papers and a duly certified visa?! If you were not aware of it, Talaat Fuad Qassem traveled all over Europe without any problems at all, and he had no conflict with any European government. Then Croatia interfered in something about which it knew nothing. For quite a long time now, Jammaa Islamyii has carried on its activities in Egypt directed against the regime there. Croatia made a mistake when it reacted "harmlessly" to an event which preceded everything else, i.e., when it arrested a person who is very well-known in the world. Qassem's followers and the members of his organization will not be satisfied with the answer given to justify the arrest and the supposed release on bail. And they are right! No one can be satisfied with an answer in which every day you are presented the facts in a different way, that "Qassem was arrested in the street," that "Qassem was arrested in his apartment," that "he was released on bail," etc.

The Croatian authorities have all the information about him, when he entered Croatia and when he left Croatia, and the palming off of information about his "departure in an unknown direction" cannot satisfy anyone.

So, to conclude, the main reason why the car bomb was placed in Rijeka is the behavior of the Croatian authorities..

Came and Disappeared?!

[Garmaz] Why would the Republic of Croatia, as you put it, enter into an agreement with the secret services of other countries if it had any idea of the consequences of such action?

[El Ma'ali] The countries which involved Croatia in this case obviously have great influence, but they are also

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exerting great pressure on the Croatian Government. Second, I believe that there are a very large number of American agents in the Croatian secret service and police. And third, I believe that Croatia was promised some material gain for the "favor." The arrest could have been made in any European country, but it was not. Just think over why not!

The United States operated in a similar way in its own country with Omar Abdel Rahman, but they "invented" a pretext for their public—"unauthorized entry into the United States," "involvement in terrorist acts," etc. At the same time, Croatia had no occasion for the arrest, nor did it succeed in presenting to its public the grounds for that arrest. They only notified the Danish authorities that "Talaat Fuad Qassem left the country for parts unknown." This is ridiculous, he came and disappeared without a trace!!!

[Garmaz] Why do you think other countries might also have gotten rid of Qassem?

[El Ma'ali] I must repeat it, Talaat Fuad Qassem is extremely well-known to all the secret services in the world, just as every move he makes is extremely well-known to everyone. And his movement is followed, because people know THAT IF ANYTHING HAPPENS TO HIM IN THEIR COUNTRY, THEIR COUNTRY WILL SUFFER THE CONSEQUENCES [capitalization as published]. Croatia was obviously a compromise solution for all those secret services and fertile soil for a job which we might say they did not dare to do in their own territory.

[Garmaz] How do you explain the reaction of his followers in Rijeka, where one person was killed and quite a few were injured?

[El Ma'ali] I can only say that organizations like that which have conflicts with the authorities in that way resort to responses to the individual acts of the authorities. After all, if they do not respond, they lose authority. And if they lose authority, they lose all prospects in their struggle for the ideas which they espouse!

So, the bomb in Rijeka is the response by which the organization affirms its authority among its members.

[Garmaz] But that response is called terrorism everywhere in the world!

[El Ma'ali] So it is! And why isn't the arrest of Fuad Qassem called terrorism? Why is that all right?

Do not forget that at the time of the arrest a threat was received from the organization to release him, and Croatia did not see fit to respond. Everything was done in such a way that the bomb in Rijeka, which was called terrorism, could not be postponed!!!

The slaughter of innocent Bosnian Muslims is not called terrorism either. When we came to Bosnia to help that people, which experienced injustice from both Croats and Serbs, we automatically became terrorists.

So, when something happens to Muslims, that is not anything, but when Muslims do something, then that is terrorism!!!

We do not wish evil on innocent people. But you must realize that the Croatian Government is solely to blame for the bad thing which occurred in Rijeka.

[Garmaz] Repeated threats are now being made against the Republic of Croatia and all Croatian missions in the world. How serious is that threat?

[El Ma'ali] I can tell you that Jammaa Islamyii is a very scrupulous organization that ultimately carries out every promise it makes.

[Garmaz] How many mujahidin are under your control in the El Mujahid Detachment?

[El Ma'ali] That is a military topic, and I cannot give you an altogether precise answer. I think you will be satisfied with the answer that there are between 5,000 and 6,000 true mujahidin in Bosnia.

[Garmaz] From what countries have they come?

[El Ma'ali] From all the Islamic countries.

Entry Into Doboj

[Garmaz] To what extent did the event in Rijeka affect the attitude of the Croatian and Bosnian authorities toward you?

[El Ma'ali] We have nothing whatsoever to do with that event, and the abuse we have encountered is only a continuation of what we have been experiencing since 1992, when we came to Bosnia.

[Garmaz] You have probably been following the negotiations in Dayton. Would you like to comment on the signing of the possible peace agreement with the Serbs?

[El Ma'ali] As for Bosnia, the Bosnian Muslims, and President Alija Izetbegovic, they know what they are doing and what their interests are. Just as the conflict with the Croats was ended, why could the same thing not be done with the Serbs!

Except the problem is that the Serbs will never consent to the present borders, that is, the line of demarcation. For all practical purposes, that would leave them with only two cities — Banja Luka and Doboj, with us only

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3 km away. If the negotiations reached an impasse, we would very quickly enter Doboj, if God willed it. That is our present line of action.

[Garmaz] What if peace should actually come out of the negotiations in Dayton? Does that then eliminate the need for you to stay in Bosnia?

[El Ma'ali] We are ready to go wherever Islam needs us. We were drawn here not by the name of the country, in this case Bosnia-Herzegovina, but by the presence of the Bosnian Muslims. And when our brothers in Bosnia no longer have need of us, we will see where we are needed most, and, God willing, that is where we will be!

[Garmaz] Does your answer signify that you consider Bosnia-Herzegovina exclusively a Muslim country?

[El Ma'ali] Bosnia is a country which has adopted Islam and in which unbelievers can live along with the Muslims.

[Garmaz] What is your comment on the cooperation between the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian Army, that is, the participation of the Croatian Army in the liberation of a part of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[El Ma'ali] Croatia has claims toward Bosnia-Herzegovina, just as Serbia wants to create some kind of expanded Serbia at the expense of Bosnia, so Croatia would like to create some larger Croatia at the expense of Bosnia. In that context, Croatia is absolutely taking advantage of its position as the only country through which aid can reach the Bosnian Muslims. As for the Muslim side, I do not believe that it will consent to that ultimate outcome.

[Garmaz] You, then, see some renewed conflict between the Croats and the Bosnian Muslims?

[El Ma'ali] Unless Croatia abstains from its intentions, I think that conflict is inevitable. Especially now that the Muslims have a strong army which achieved great success during the summer, in spite of supply channels being entirely cut off. If there had not been great pressure from the world on Sarajevo, I think that the Serbian question in Bosnia could have been settled this summer. However, the world was afraid of the strength and advances of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina....

[Garmaz] Why do you constantly equate the Serbs and Croats?

[El Ma'ali] For me, there is no difference whatsoever between Croats and Serbs. The Croats hate us more than we hate them. But that is because they started the conflict.

Conflict With the Blue Helmets

[Garmaz] Recently, the media have been giving quite a bit of coverage to your conflict with the British in Bosnia-Herzegovina. What is that all about?

[El Ma'ali] Everything is being fabricated and placed in a context to suit someone's needs. As for the British, the media, for example, never mention that British members of the UNPROFOR killed a member of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, who was a mujahidin. They say only that "the British blue helmets tried to go through a town controlled by the mujahidin, but they were sent back and mistreated."

The British actually want to tell the world TO EXPECT REPRISAL FROM THE RELATIVES AND FRIENDS OF THE MUJAHIDIN WHO WAS KILLED [capitalization as published]. Even before that happened, they pinned the label on us that "we did that."

But we are only waiting for the results of the investigation, while the British are refusing to conduct any investigation of this event whatsoever.

[Garmaz] What will your next step be?

[El Ma'ali] We are a unit operating as part of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and for us there will be a procedure, as there is for all other units in the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina — we wait for the results of the investigation, which the British must conduct.

We are said to have mistreated the British humanitarians, and no one wants to listen when we say our unit was not operating at all in the area where the alleged incident occurred. Why is no one talking about our mujahidin being killed, and about his relatives who were with him in Bosnia? Can his parents take revenge as a sign of reprisal? Why is that not mentioned, but they only slander our unit!

Newly Appointed HVO Commander Profiled

AU2212094195 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 95 p 6

[Report by Dj. Kozar on Major General Zivko Budimir, newly appointed commander of the Croatian Defense Council: "General As Politician"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Major General Zivko Budimir, the new commander of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], has acquired considerable military and political experience over the past four years. From being the commander of a National Guard battalion on the Croatian front, he went on to hold the highest position in the General Staff of the HVO in Grude and was promoted to the rank of a general as a relatively young man (he

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was born in 1962 in Vir near Posusje). The fact that he became a general on the Joint General Staff of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the HVO in Sarajevo this spring indicates that it was there that he showed a great amount of political talent, continuing Lt. Gen. Ante Roso's work on implementing the Washington Agreement.

Budimir is a trained officer: He graduated from the Air Force and Technology Military School in Rajlovac in 1981, and served as active officer in the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] for five years. The 1991 aggression of the JNA and the paramilitary Serb formations found him in the Republic of Croatia. He joined the national defense units in Slavonia, where he became a brigade commander. In August 1991, he joined the National Guard and took over command of the battalion. When the cease-fire in Croatia was signed on 2 January 1992, he left for Bosanska Posavina and fought there until that part of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina suddenly fell into enemy hands.

He Fought in Croatia and Posavina

In July 1993, he started work on the HVO General Staff in Grude. In early 1994, he was sent to the Joint General Staff of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the HVO and was appointed deputy commander of part of the HVO. When Gen. Roso took over his new duties, Budimir became commander of part of the HVO on the General Staff. After only a few months he was appointed to a new position on the HVO General Staff.

After Maj. Gen. Tihomir Blaskic was transferred to the Head Inspectorate of the Croatian Army [following his indictment by the Hague Tribunal for war crimes], Budimir took over command of the HVO. At 33, he has the experience of several military duties, some of which were very delicate. Though he has only completed military high school, those who know him well say that this officer is very good at carrying out purely military duties, and that he has shown that he is not unfamiliar with operational-tactical duties, either. These qualities were best displayed during the HVO Operation Mistral, in the liberation of several towns in western Bosnia.

It is probably good that the head HVO is an officer who has worked on the Joint General Staff of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the HVO, and is familiar with the situation with the creation of a unitary army of the Federation. When asked about that by STECAK in May 1995, he said:

"The main reason that there has been no major progress on the organization of the army of the Federation lies in the difference of opinion on this issue. This is also why the proposed defense bill at the Federation level was not accepted."

The Consolidation of Trust

The well informed say that, working at the Joint General Staff, Budimir did a lot to consolidate trust between the two armies that had fought against each other for a while. Emphasizing that it is "impossible completely to eliminate the consequences of these conflicts within a short period," he added that it is possible to reach the aim with just a little progress at a time, and that the Joint General Staff would not lag behind the political solutions to which the representatives of the Bosniak and Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina agree within the bodies of authority. However, the tardiness in bringing the Federation to life at the political level is being reflected on the part of the military, too.

In the interview with STECAK, Gen. Budimir remarked that Islam plays an important role in the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which, in his opinion, is not a good basis for the formation of the multinational and multicultural army that the Federation army is supposed to be. He said that he does not mind Islamic religious practice existing both in mosques and people's private lives, but that he does object to it being obligatory in the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It is be too early to speculate on how the new HVO commander, Maj. Gen. Zivko Budimir, will act in the future, and what his relation will be with the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its representatives in future talks on the organization of the joint army of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. Nevertheless, it is certain that his position will depend on overall political relations between the Bosniak and Croatian nations, that is, on what is decided by the highest Federation bodies.

[Box, p 6]

BH-PRESS report, Sarajevo, 5 December:
International Police Will Only Be Monitoring

The international police forces that are supposed to be arriving in Bosnia-Herzegovina in accordance with the Dayton agreement will be mostly dealing with monitoring the implementation of the peace agreement, explained Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic.

Emphasizing that the Dayton peace agreement anticipated a united Sarajevo and united police forces, Sacirbegovic said: "We will not be handing over our responsibility over to foreign police.... The international police force will mostly be involved in monitoring."

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UNSC Resolution on Bosnian Serb, Croat Crimes

LD2212100495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0943 GMT 22 Dec 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New York, Dec 22 (TANJUG) — The United Nations Security Council late Thursday passed a resolution condemning Bosnian Serbs for alleged crimes committed in Srebrenica, Zepa, Banja Luka, and Sanski Most.

Local authorities have been asked without delay to permit the entry of representatives of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to contact arrested and displaced persons, and those who are listed as missing but are still in Serb-controlled territory.

The resolution, which was adopted on the grounds of a report by U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali of Nov. 27 this year, especially condemns Bosnian Serbs for killing a large but unknown number of persons in the eastern Muslim enclave of Srebrenica and its vicinity last summer.

The Council urged that cases of violations of humanitarian laws and human rights in Srebrenica, Zepa, Banja Luka, and Sanski Most between July and October this year be fully investigated by the United Nations and other international organizations and agencies.

Without waiting for the results of any investigations, the Council last night very strongly condemned Bosnian Serbs for alleged crimes of mass murder, mass expulsions, arbitrary arrests, forced labor, and the disappearance of large numbers of people.

Three days earlier, Yugoslav Ambassador to the U.N. Vladislav Jovanovic sent a letter to the Council president suggesting that a vote on the resolution be postponed until material facts are obtained. The letter also presented to the Council a version of the events in Srebrenica obtained from the official authorities of Republika Srpska (the Bosnian Serb Republic).

The Council did not take this into account, and passed the resolution condemning Serbs with very strong words, urging them and other factors in the territory of former Yugoslavia to cooperate with the international war crimes tribunal in The Hague.

The Security Council also adopted a resolution strongly condemning Croatian crimes, especially those committed by Bosnian Croat forces in Mrkonjic Grad and Sipovo, where they torched houses and looted property in areas which are to become part of the Bosnian Serb Republic under the Paris Peace Accords.

The Council urged an immediate end to these activities, and that the respective authorities investigate the crimes and bring those responsible to trial.

The Council also asked all sides in the conflict in Bosnia to refrain from planting mines in areas which will be passed to another side, under the peace accords.

Karadzic: All Prisoners To Be Released by 20 Jan

LD2112223795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2232 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 21 (TANJUG) — President of the (Bosnian Serb state) Republika Srpska Radovan Karadzic said on Thursday that the Bosnian Serb side would release all prisoners by Jan. 20, in compliance with the Dayton peace accord.

The Russian ITAR-TASS news agency quotes Karadzic as making the promise in a meeting with Angelo Gnadiger, representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) for Central Europe and the Balkans.

ICRC headquarters in Geneva said that the organisation's officials had been given permission to visit about 850 prisoners, mostly Serbs, in 12 Bosnian towns.

SDA Pledges To 'Reestablish' in Serb-Held Areas

AU2112210495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] NATO troops officially took over the peace mission from the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] yesterday. This very act symbolizes the beginning of a new phase in the existence of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dr. Ismet Grbo, spokesman of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA], said at today's regular news conference.

The assumption of the peace mission rectifies the injustice that the international community has done to the legal authorities and the people of this country by sporting an equal stance toward the aggressor and the victim since taking on its role in Bosnia. For that reason, the UNPROFOR mission failed in our opinion, Grbo emphasized.

Grbo also said that the SDA will carry out intensive activities in two directions to implement peace and achieve the liberation of the democratic territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This means safeguarding the processes that will intensify the role of the Federation, that is, the federal government in the construction of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and also safeguarding the return of refugees and pluralism on the territory of the Federation.

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It was pointed out that the SDA will do everything to reestablish itself on the territories of the so-called Serb Republic, where the conditions for the return of the Bosniaks will be created.

Simultaneously, the SDA will strive to create as quickly as possible the conditions that will facilitate the removal of the causes of direct war danger and the ending of the war situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This means that the Paris peace agreement and the IFOR [Implementation Force] arrival are the fundamental guarantees for the restoration of peace in Bosnia, Grbo emphasized.

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Interim Administrator for E. Slavonia Appointed

LD2012190895 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman received in the Presidential Palace today U.S. Charge d'Affaires in Zagreb Robert Finn at the latter's request who brought to the president a written personal message from Secretary of State Warren Christopher, the president's office has announced.

The message lays emphasis on the importance of the Dayton agreement and the readiness of the United States to give support and aid to the full implementation of the agreement regarding peaceful reintegration of the Croatian Podunavlje [stretch of land along the Dunav river]—western Srijem, eastern Slavonia, and Baranja. In accordance with agreements reached between the United States, the Republic of Croatia, and the United Nations, General Jacques Klein, an official of the U.S. Department of State and until recently a political adviser at the U.S. forces command in Europe, will take over the duty of the interim administrator in the next few days.

An estimate has been confirmed that around 5,000 soldiers from a small number of countries are needed for the implementation, the leading role being given to NATO members.

An American view was underlined that both sides should work without hesitation on the implementation of the agreement on peaceful reintegration reached on 12 November; the need to achieve full normalization of relations and mutual recognition between Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was also underscored.

In the light of the fact that this is in line with Croatian policy, President Tudjman has accepted a suggestion by State Secretary Christopher on the exchange of visits by the ministers of foreign affairs of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Being aware of the concern of the domestic and international public over the delay to implement the agreement, President Tudjman said that talks and concrete technical preparations for the reopening of telecommunications and traffic continued, expressing his pleasure over Belgrade's active participation in it. The U.S. side welcomed it.

The talks were also attended by Miomir Zuzul, the president's special envoy, and Gordan Radin, the head of the president's office.

Tudjman's 'Discordant' Speech in Paris Condemned

AU2212110095 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 95 p 2

[Commentary by Drazen Vukov Colic: "Three Men on the Bench of the Accused"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the well decorated and famous Parisian hall, on that formal morning, in front of the cameras of the global television village and the most powerful of all the trans-Atlantic powers, everyone was supposed to be more formal, cheerful, and relaxed than in the unadorned and modest, isolated and inaccessible U.S. military base. But the general mood of the "three reconciled Balkan leaders"—to judge from the pictures—was even more rigid, tense, and hostile in France than it had been in the United States. The cameras recorded not one example of direct eye contact or secret whispers, so that after the long-awaited signing, Tudjman's hand hovered helplessly in the air for some time, until Milosevic, and then Izetbegovic, realized that at least for the sake of the city and the world they should shake hands on this occasion.

Some things behind the scenes had obviously not happened as expected (the normalization of relationships between Zagreb and Belgrade and the future of the Serbs in Sarajevo, perhaps) and it may have been only then that all three of them finally realized that the most powerful and the most important ones were actually keeping them on some sort of accused bench, regardless of any guilt or justice, elevated ideals, the march of history and the invincible dreams, in the role of those who had painted these years dark in Europe and caused horrific suffering to their compatriots and neighbors. Yet, in the end, none of them got all that he had wanted and now all three have to implement what in their souls they are not happy about.

One of them, through sanctions and isolation, threats, and even bombing, was prevented from taking all he wanted (Milosevic); another was constantly kept within a circle of semi-promises and has now been pushed into a state of semi-solutions (Izetbegovic); and the third got his independence and the right to self-defense, but was also constantly held back (Tudjman). It appears at the moment that on such a formal occasion none of them made a speech that, to Clinton or to Chirac, Major or Kohl, seemed to be the reliable pledge of a truly converted peace-maker.

While in the circle of their mentors mention was mostly made of the noble multicultural and multiethnic, civil and civilized Bosnia, those who "cannot do anything to erase the past, but can undertake everything to build the

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future" (Clinton) in their addresses could not cross the threshold beyond which the question "why they had had war in the first place" would have become inevitable, if now they were more or less complying with the Bosnia-Herzegovina —unified and multicultural—as it had, at least in principle, been before "the most savage war that my generation has witnessed" (Bildt) [sentence as published].

Milosevic bragged the most with phrases and promises, with tales about democracy and a happy future, but he did not even try to make them sound good or bright, so his basic message boiled down to the claim that the Serbs, who, just like everybody else, had the right to be close friends with everybody (Belgrade and Pale, just like Zagreb and Sarajevo), should now be treated in the same way as everybody else, regardless of stories of guilt or innocence, criminals and victims; whereas Izetbegovic's moving and sad, as well as tragic address was marked with a warning bitterness ("We have accepted that peace like a man who knows that he has to take a bitter, but useful medicine"), in which he even announced some "continuation of the struggle" for the same ideas, although not with weapons, of which he had, by the way, been deprived.

Tudjman added to all this an unnecessary historical lecture in the form of a thinly disguised skepticism about the possible survival of Bosnia. One could hardly think of anything more inappropriate at that moment and so discordant with what the supposed Western role models and protectors of Croatia, Kohl and Clinton, had said. If in the former Yugoslavia, the "communist fancies" to try to "calm" the Serbo-Croat conflicts by inventing the Muslim nation still did not make a "pacifying factor" out of this "country with its central position"—as already since Roman times and the times of Ban Kulin [ruler of the medieval Bosnian state], from AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] to Dayton, it has always been torn apart by "clashes of civilization"—so, in that case, why should it survive and be supported in this loose, overpacked form?

In this way, the Croatian president once more reiterated his view of the centuries-old divisions and civilizational divides, as though he were at some sort of book promotion rather than taking part in "the diplomatic event of the year," where he once more failed to resist the temptations of a passionate historian pulling some very disquieting theories out of their scientific mothballs. There is no doubt that Franjo Tudjman, in the role of a very powerful statesman, has proved to be a historical personality who has been highly successful in making crucial decisions on war and peace, and life and death; but he should know that on such an occasion not even Churchill would have dared to write such an inappropriate speech. He should at least have given the draft speech to be read by someone else, who would have had enough courage to suggest something that might keep Croatia, in the adorned Paris, in the 20th century.

Agreement on Reintegration Criticized

96BA0034B Split NEDELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Nov 95 p 4

[Article by Bojan Divjak: "Arkan's Payroll in Kunas!?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In spite of all the content obviously unfavorable to Croatia, the basic agreement on the region of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem has been presented to the Croatian public as the beginning of peaceful reintegration of an occupied area, as though the Croatian flag was already unfurled atop the standpipe in Vukovar; attempts to cast a pall over the celebration with logical questions about specific matters are being labeled in advance as reckless action by people who are politically illiterate. But in spite of the danger of earning the label of an internal enemy, there will be more and more such questions because the agreement is so indefinite and general that it can hardly be the foundation of a Croatian return to Baranja and Vukovar.

Even the theoretical scope of the agreement, that is, leaves sufficient room for an unfavorable assessment, because it does not provide a precise answer to three basic questions, which are the certainty of the return, the entry of Croatian authorities, and control of the international border with the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The possibilities of its being implemented in practice and thereby really serving as the foundation for reintegration of the remaining occupied area are still slimmer. The Security Council, as announced, may in the next two weeks adopt a resolution to implement the agreement, and then international forces would be designated with the task of governing that area; their arrival would initiate the process of demilitarization in a period of 30 days, the agreement states. Even assuming that the demilitarization is carried out, the agreement does not define where and how the weapons taken from the paramilitary units would be stored, just as it does not say how they would be stored and whether the international forces would have the authority to use force if there is a hitch in the demilitarization or if the weapons, should they be stored within the occupied area, are seized once again, which in the course of the process of disarmament which has already taken place once happened approximately every other day. Now, if we take an optimistic position and assume that the Serbian paramilitary units will really surrender their heavy weapons, the question remains of how personal weapons, both short-barreled

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and long-barreled, will be confiscated (because they certainly will not be surrendered), since they certainly represent the greatest threat to potential returnees. Will the displaced Croats really set off for their homes in spite of that danger, or will members of the international forces first conduct a house-to-house search, from basement to rooftop?

An Experiment at Making Peace

What is more, assuming the demilitarization is carried out and the transitional administration takes power in that region, establishment of the police, which, the agreement states, the transitional administration will assist in its professionalization, cannot occur until people start returning, because otherwise there would be no Croats in the police. In that charmed circle, before the establishment of a police which would include Croats, the only guarantee of security for the returnees would be the international forces, and experience with those to date has been so bad that it is almost impossible to expect that anyone would expose his person solely to their protection. Let us put aside the stories about the new forces not being like the previous ones and that the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation], with their proverbial ineffectiveness, are a thing of the past, does anyone have the right to expect those Croatian citizens who up to now have suffered the most for this state to exist at all to be guinea pigs once again and expose their lives to an experiment at making peace? Dare the Croatian state send its citizens to live in a territory where Croatian authority is not in place? With what measures will it force them to return, because if they do not return, then all the fanfare about the agreement just signed makes no sense at all?

But let us even assume that the displaced persons return and that all the public services which the agreement does not say must be Croatian become operational; if we go back just a bit to the past, to 3 October of this year and the "Erdut Principles" as the first document adopted, Point 4 clearly statesthat Croatian services will be reestablished, and it says that these will be the post office, the banks, municipal services, and offices for pensions and citizenship. So, we can conclude that in the final agreement the Serbs managed to alter even what they had already agreed to, because the only trace of those services being Croatian that remains in the agreement is the sentence stating that the transitional administration "...will take necessary steps toward reestablishment of the normal operation of all public services in the region without delay."

It mentions, that is, restoration of what once operated in that region (the Serbs might interpret this as restored operation of those services which ceased to operate because of military operations, and they could function even today in the occupied area). But who will then guarantee the safety of the officials of those services if, for example, a physician from Osijek needs permanent or occasional residence, and will those physicians in Osijek work with the help of computers and the health cards recently introduced, even in an area under transitional administration with some other health certificates and without the documentation which has been computerized in Croatia? Or as to the public, will the Croatian media be able to function normally and have full access to the territory under international administration? How will someone be able to visit his relatives and friends who return? There are a number of questions which the agreement does not answer, simply because it has no practical value whatsoever, and the excuse for its lack of value that each of the 14 points must be elaborated in further talks directly contradicts the conclusion that the peaceful reintegration has begun, because the negotiations on elaboration, without which, as we see, we can hardly expect implementation, might once again last indefinitely.

And, just as with the question of the safety of the returnees and persons who would have to reside in occupied territory, economic matters are also utterly unclear—first of all, the question of the currency: Will it be the kuna, the dinar, the dollar, or the mark? Can any of the Croatian negotiators explain who will get the money earned, say, in the Djeletovci oil field, and, assuming that someone in that region will actually be doing something, to whom will that someone pay tax—would it go into the Croatian tax system, that, in any case, would be a good sign of reintegration, but if some compromise solution takes effect so that the money remains within that region, then that automatically signifies creation of a state within a state.

Neither Police Nor Customs

In spite of the announcements of the principal Croatian negotiator that there will be Croatian police and customs on the borders, there is no such provision in the agreement; the agreement says only that the Government of the Republic of Croatia will approve the presence of international observers along international borders of the areas, not mentioning that these are Croatian borders, and this would be so that "...people would be able to move more freely through existing border crossings," so that we might ask whether goods from the so-called FRY [expansion unknown] might also cross through those same border checkpoints, and also whether they would be subject to customs regulations like goods, say, from Hungary or not. Once again, then, there are a num-

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ber of unanswered questions, and the danger of the talks on elaboration lasting longer than the transitional period itself. Likewise, it is not clear what role will be given to the bodies which the Serbs have the right to form under Point 13, which states that as part of the elections at the end of the transitional period the transitional administration will help the "Serbian community to appoint a joint council of opcinas." It should not be forgotten here that a number of the agreement's points allow all the Serbs from Croatia to remain in that area and that this altered composition of the population (it is easy to say that a person, say, from Knin, who is living in the house of a Croat, must leave—the agreement does not state that he must leave, and no one is going to drive him out, least of all the international forces) might quite easily result in unfavorable election results and the formation of a broad council of local administrative units, and even certain autonomy in the end game. And putting aside the distant future if this is left this way, the first practical problem arising from the right of all the Serbs to remain is that of housing the returnees and those who are today in possession of their houses. There simply is no solution to this problem, and that is yet another piece of evidence of the practical nullity of the agreement that was signed with pomp and ceremony on Sunday [12 November].

It is difficult, then, to believe that the Basic Agreement is the foundation of reintegration, because not only does it define hardly anything that could be really implemented, it certainly does not contain even a trace of sincerity. It is simply the fruit of the extremely fierce pressure, which made the negotiators in Dayton turn blue in the face—if the process of its implementation ever does begin, this will be only yet another attempt to realize man's old dream to turn iron into gold. And no one has managed to do that yet.

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Gligorov Comments on Dayton, Balkan Relations

AU2212123295 Skopje MIC in English 21 Dec 95

[Interview with President Kiro Gligorov by Pande Kolemishevski of NOVA MAKEDONIJA at Gligorov's villa in Vodno on 21 December—quotation marks as received]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The President of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Kiro Gligorov gave an exclusive interview for the news editions of NOVA MAKEDONIJA [NM]. This is the President's first interview since the attempt on his life on October 3rd, this year, on the street "Makedonija" in Skopje.

President Gligorov received the general director of the news publishing company "Nova Makedonija" Pande Kolemishevski in his reception cabinet in his villa on Vodno. In the longer discussion, the President answered a number of questions connected with Macedonia's international position today and the current social, political and economic situation in the country. [Dated] December 21, 1995

NM: Mr. President, it has been more than two and a half months since the terrorist attack on your life, in which you received heavier injuries. This act shocked the Macedonian public and was condemned in the most severe way. Every Macedonian citizen, with the most sincerest wishes for your full recovery, would ask you, at this moment, how you are feeling after those dramatic days for you personally, your family, the citizens and the Republic of Macedonia at large?

Kiro Gligorov: "Thank you, I am feeling very well. I passed through a truly difficult period, I managed to overcome it and now I am preparing to fully return to my presidential duties. This was the biggest trauma for my family, but their love, concern and self-composition were crucial for my recovery. I am sorry they had to go through such pain, I am lucky to have such a family. Otherwise, this terrorist act faced us with the fact that violence and attempts on the lives of others are still existing threats in our regions.

NM: The majority assessments about the assassination attempt say that the organizers had political motives, i.e. an assassination on the peace and stability in our state, and broader in the region. There were also opinions that it was an attempt to change the political and international course of the state, to install a "vassal" authority, as well as the involvement of large financial interests. What is your opinion and what are your suppositions about the possible motives of the organizers of the assassination attempt?

Kiro Gligorov: "I wouldn't like to speculate, especially not until the investigation comes up with some specific results. It is possible for this entire affair to remain a mystery for quite some time. That will certainly leave open a large number of questions and certain uncertainty. Not only from the aspect of the present moment, but long-term as well. Otherwise, a couple of facts in relations to the attempt are obvious. In principle, an attempt on the life of a head of state has concrete political implications. It is also a fact that the assassination attempt was carried out at a very sensitive moment for the Republic of Macedonia and the region. At a moment when Macedonia was entering the final phase of normalization of its relations with a part of its neighbors, when it was rounding off its position in the international structures and when it has become apparent that it is not backing down from its course of international development. Certainly, there is also the fact that the process of stabilization of the situation in the region started at that moment, as well as the final shaping of the new Balkan political reality. Enough serious reasons for certain structures or individuals, whichever, who don't have anything to gain from peace, stability, or democracy. Apart from that, I started receiving assassination threats from the first moment I took on the function of President of the Republic, due to various motives and from various sources. But, obviously, this time a specific interest was in question. Also, I would like to underline that I never underestimated those threats. Not from the aspect of my own life, as much as from the aspect of the fate of the country. And, I warned against the threat of terrorist acts, especially at the moments of the definite realization of the historical goals of our people and the stabilization of our state.

NM: Even after the attempt, Macedonia showed its stability. The institutions of the state are functioning unobstructed, and the citizens have shown a high level of awareness about their conduct. You were sent a large number of telegrams from the country and abroad. What were the main messages in the telegrams?

Kiro Gligorov: "That is what I find especially encouraging. The assassination attempt did not realize its basic goal. The Republic of Macedonia has shown that, as a state, it is mature and ready to take on the challenges of the new age. It has shown that the institutions of the system are functioning despite such criminal provocations. I am especially pleased with the fact that the citizens showed a high level of consciousness. I could sense that also from the large number of telegrams I received. They clearly demonstrated the determination of the citizens of Macedonia, regardless of their national or religious affiliation, to support the independence of

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the country, the internal peace and stability, and the international politics and goals. I am also pleased with the fact that the enormous number of telegrams I received from statesmen and friends throughout the world express enormous support for the independence of the Republic of Macedonia and its equal place in the international community. That is what has given me enough energy to go through this dramatic moment for me and my family. And, certainly, not to back down from the basic political orientations I have stood for so far.

NM: Soon after the attempt on your life, the accord with Greece was ratified. Parliament made a decision to change the flag, and in only one month, Macedonia became a member of the Council of Europe, the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] and "Partnership for peace," which leads to NATO. This, in effect, meant a confirmation and realization of a political platform in which you personally put a lot of effort and greatly contributed to. This draws the question: What now? Is Macedonia standing firm in its orientation for integration into the European processes or will it ask for another alternative to seek inclusion in the international relations?

Kiro Gligorov: "As I already said, this fall was the period of definite strengthening of our country's position. The ratification of the Interim Accord with the Republic of Greece was an exceptionally important step for both countries and the wider stability in the region. The normalization of the mutual relations is one of the keys to peace in the Balkans. We have always claimed that and have therefore always expressed readiness for a full normalization of the relations and the quick resolution of the irrational dispute that has developed in our mutual relations. Therefore, it is very important that the assassination attempt did not cause an eventual delay in the decisions of Parliament, which was probably one of the goals. Macedonia's membership in the Council of Europe and the OSCE, as well as to the NATO project 'Partnership for peace,' are also events of exceptional importance. Those are the places that objectively belonged to us, immediately after the declaration of independence. Regretfully, the reasons why we faced a hard and difficult battle for the realization of these rights are well-known. Now they are behind us and the Republic of Macedonia can realize its political orientation and goals on a much firmer basis. I agree with you that what we need now is some new activism, something that will strengthen our position in the European integrations. I don't see any reason or any circumstances that would force us to look for a different alternative for inclusion in the international relations, except for the European one. That is the most natural and most reasonable orientation for the Republic of Macedonia, because of the fact that Macedonia is a European country, not only according to its geographic position, but also according to its traditions and long-term political orientations. Macedonia strongly confirmed this in the past five-year period of Balkan tragedies and conflicts. The common European house is the broadest and safest framework for strengthening our country's independent position, for resolving the historical problems with the neighbors, and for paving the way towards economic progress, democracy and all-European cooperation. Especially for finally starting off the process of Europeanization of the Balkans, as the only way out of the Balkan divisions, wars, misunderstanding and intolerance.

NM: The UN brought a resolution according to which the stay of UNPREDEP [UN Prevention Deployment Force] in Macedonia is extended another six months, and not only 12 as it was initially announced. This shortening of the term of the UN forces in Macedonia has caused some confusion, and even fear. While on one hand, it was claimed that Macedonia was still in danger, the other world power—Russia, was categoric that the danger has passed in Macedonia and that there is no need for the UN forces to stay on in Macedonia. What is your opinion on this?

Kiro Gligorov: "Personally, I am convinced, and every citizen of the Republic of Macedonia would be very pleased if our country was not longer in danger and that there is no need for the UN forces to be present at a part of our borders. But, also, I am convinced that that will happen at the moment when a concrete result of the general stability in the region is reached and when we overcome the well-known reasons for the presence of UNPREDEP in the Republic. Their presence so far, confirms that, which is also a shared opinion of both the Security Council and the broader international community. The differences that arose in the Council of Europe are a result of concrete regional interests. Finally, that also confirms the need for the to-date presence of UNPREDEP in our country. But, I wouldn't fear for that, those are issues that the Security Council itself will discuss and assess, on the basis of arguments, and in the interest of the peace and stability in the south of the Balkans.

NM: The peace accord signed in Dayton and Paris will cause and has already caused some commotion in the region. Although all the details from this accord are not yet known, it is clear that there will be some serious problems surrounding the succession of Yugoslavia, and some secret bargaining between the successors to Yugoslavia are in sight. Where will Macedonia find itself after Dayton and Paris, and will the accords have an influence on its position and stability?

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Kiro Gligorov: "The Dayton, i.e. Paris peace accord is a historic act in itself, that marks the end to a very cruel and tragic war. A war that caused the death of many innocent people, ethnic genocide, destruction, and wider instability in the region. This accord promises a lot, especially from the aspect of the strong orientation of the international community, and especially NATO to achieve peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and to stabilize the Balkan region. That certainly will not be easy, nor without any additional problems. Let's hope that peace will be established on a long-term basis in the interest of all the nations in the region. A part of the goals of this international enterprise is also the final resolution of the remaining questions from the break up of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. That certainly touches to sensitive questions—the question of state continuity and the question of succession of the former SFRY. Our official stand is that those question should be resolved in accordance with the principles and decisions expressed in the Budinter report, the decisions of the EU and the UN. That is to say, according to the basic principle and conclusion that SFRY no longer exists and that all six republics are equal successors. That includes the state continuity and inheritance. Finally, those are known and determined principles of international law and practice. And, time will show if certain secret "bargaining" between the successors is possible, out of pragmatic or other reasons. Apart from that, I am convinced that the disruption of these principles can only add to new confusion, misunderstanding and even uncertainty in the region. After Dayton and Paris, Macedonia is still standing firm in its well-known and determined position. Meaning, as an independent and sovereign state oriented towards the European integrations and on the basis of the principles of equidistance, strongly orientated towards full cooperation with all neighbors. From this aspect, it is standing firm in its position that it is one of the six equal successors to the former SFRY. We hope that will not be a reason for disrupting its stability, since that could not mean anything else except a new conflict in the Balkans."

NM: Your firm orientation for a policy of equidistance towards our neighbors, in various period, and especially now when Macedonia is about to experience some historical resolutions, is coming across criticism on the part of some individuals and party groups in the country, and sometimes that criticism is intonated by political currents with our neighbors. What is it that bothers them so much in this orientation for equal treatment in the building of friendly relations with all the neighboring countries?

Kiro Gligorov: "The policy of equidistance is based on a couple of principles. First, on the historical experience of the Macedonian nation and the current principles of the new European architecture, which means equal relations and cooperation with all neighbors. Without precedence, exclusiveness or a privileged position or relation towards any of them. Second, it is an active principle based on full and open cooperation with all, under conditions of open borders and respect of the principles of non- interference in internal affairs, mutual interest and equal cooperation. Your rightfully noted that this policy is coming across certain skepticism, remarks and even open distrust. And, that would not be a problem provided a more effective alternative would be offered. And, I don't see it in the criticisms you mentioned, because, in some of them, the alternative is closer relations with only one of the neighbors. In others, the label "conservative" or "inefficient policy" is attached. I can't see anything else behind all of this except being connected with one of the neighbors again, only hidden behind the concept of pragmatism in the moves. Therefore, this criticism did not find any support in the Macedonian public. And not only that, but I can say with conviction that the policy of equidistance resulted with peace and stability in the Republic of Macedonia, and with the strengthening of its independence and the start of a new era of good-neighborliness in the Balkans.

NM: There is speculation in Greece again that the Interim Accord foresees negotiations over the name of our state. Will such negotiations take place, and will Macedonia agree to any kind of changes to its constitutional name?

Kiro Gligorov: "The Interim Accord foresees, what is also logical, for both countries to discuss the name differences over the name of the Republic of Macedonia. Finally, that was the basic reason for the irrational dispute in our relations. Before the Accord, and after it, we are prepared to hold such talks and to present our arguments. However, there are no changes in our stand that our name is the Republic of Macedonia, and that this is not and can not be the reason for the disruption of our relations with neighboring Greece, or that it can cause a threat of territorial aspirations towards Greece or destabilization in the region. Furthermore, we are convinced that there is no foundation in the international law or documents that could bring into question the inviolable right of a nation to self-orientation, to expressing its own national identity and in this framework, its own name. I truly believe that the normalization of the relations with Greece, following the Interim Accord, will

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open a new era of friendship and cooperation between our two nations, directed to live with one another and to work together in the interest of the peace and stability in the Balkans. On this occasion, I would like to repeat that we have a hundred times more reasons for friendship and cooperation, than to fall back to historical frustrations, dogmas and prejudice, which can not bring anything good neither to the Greek or the Macedonian people, nor the Republic of Macedonia or the Republic of Greece.

NM: The relations with Bulgaria are still burdened with historic inheritance and the remnants are still alive there incorporated in the thesis that the Macedonian nation is of Bulgarian character and that the Macedonian language does not exist. Do you see possibilities in the near future for final overcoming of these historic remnants and for an establishment of good and friendly relations?

Kiro Gligorov: "After the war experience that we had in Bosnia and Herzegovina I hope that all the Balkan nations and countries have learnt some lessons. In spite of the fact that the whole Balkan history of 19 and 20 century has represented a tragic experience and all rational and well-intentioned people would already have to have learnt a lesson. In this sense the remnants that you mentioned are another sad Balkan anachronism, moreover they today represent an ordinary political blindness. Unfortunately, they are still there. After the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Macedonia, Bulgaria was the first neighbor to recognize our state. It is a significant investment for the perspectives of our relations. However, burdened with the so-called historic remnants, today it is obstructing the real possibilities for an overall cooperation. Let us hope that political realism will prevail in these relations because it is in the interest of the future of the two nations and countries. We have jointly concluded the same thing with the president of the Republic of Bulgaria Zhelyu Zhelev on so many occasions. It is a fact that we have a development of good relations with neighborly Bulgaria, and the moment they are freed from historic prejudices, they will represent a real example of good neighborliness.

NM: Within the framework of relations with the neighbors there is also the question related to Albania. In which phase are these relations?

Kiro Gligorov: "The relations with the Republic of Albania are being developed in all fields. Our relations are particularly important for a larger security in the region as two countries in transition, oriented toward Europe, and normally as two countries in which nationalities from the two sides live. I would herein like to point out to the fact that the historic tradition of co-existence between the Macedonians and the Albanians is of particular significance, as well as the present orientation that the rights of the Albanian nationality in the Republic of Macedonia should be solved within the Constitution and the internationally defined standards. It is the only platform for the reinforcement of mutual confidence and cooperation, and for joint efforts for peace and stability in the south of the Balkans.

NM: Your last international activity before the assassination attempt was your meeting with the president of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic after which it was announced that Serbia and Montenegro would recognize Macedonia by the end of the month. Two and a half months have passed since, but this has not taken place yet. What is burdening the relations with Serbia in the newly created conditions?

Kiro Gligorov: "Yes, it is true, a mutual recognition was announced within this term. On that occasion, just after the meeting, I stated that a complete normalization between the Republic of Macedonia and the FR [Federal Republic of] Yugoslavia is of great importance for both countries and nations, for the perspectives of stability in the region, particularly because after the breaking-up of SFRY, there were not any animosity and disputes between the two countries, we do not have any territorial disputes, Macedonia did not take part in the war, former Yugoslav National Army left Macedonia upon an agreement. We also have enough positive historical traditions; immediately after World War II the Assemblies of Serbia and Montenegro recognized the existence of the Republic of Macedonia and the Macedonian people, which was the basis for half a century of coexistence in the same Federation. In that sense, there are no actual reasons to further delay mutual recognition. I am convinced this is of mutual interest and the best alternative for our relations, which should be realized as soon as possible, or should I say, immediately.

NM: Mr. President, how do you assess the degree of realization of the social, political and economic reforms in Macedonia and are you satisfied with the speed they are being realized at?

Kiro Gligorov: "Under the given circumstances, the satisfaction is relative. We have really achieved many important things in a very short period, and in some segments there have been radical social, political and economic changes. I have said many times that the period of transition is a hard and painful process causing serious social and political problems and movements. What is even more important is that it is a process for which there are no ready-made verified recipes. That is evident in the whole post-socialist European reality. In a

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matter of a couple of years, the Republic of Macedonia has managed to fortify the basis and practices of parliamentary democracy. That is the direction which guarantees democratic processes. Radical changes have been initiated in the ownership structure and enlivenment of market economy. The third judicial power is also constituted step by step. Those are facts that cannot be neglected. But, it is also a fact that we are faced with a line of difficult problems, especially in the economic sphere. They were additionally complicated with the consequences from the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro and the Greek embargo against our country, as well as the delay in the process of enabling our country to approach the European market, not at our fault. There are also some weaknesses and omissions of a subjective nature, which can not be reduced under the common denominator "speed" of changes, because there is also certain disorientation and not always wisely made decisions. However, the basic thing is that there is not deviation from the basic course of reforms.

NM: There are different assessments about the development of democratic processes in Macedonia, starting from full denial up to self-sufficiency, self-praise, but also there are indications that they are at a slowdown, that Macedonia has not yet obtained all attributes of democracy, that is, the essential separation of the executive, judicial, and administrative powers, as well as the necessary civil associations that will help to perpetuate the pressure of public opinion on the administration. What are your assessments of democracy, and the freedom of criticism and public speech in the state?

Kiro Gligorov: "Well, I would like to point out that the different assessments are also an expression of the democratic processes in the country. Black and white pictures don't exist if one wants to seriously analyze the democratic processes. We have neither adopted the full democratic spaces in order to be pat ourselves on the back, but neither can I accept full denial, because that simply is not true! The Constitution, but also practice, in the two mandates, is going toward further build-up and functioning of the three types of power. Problems, from this aspect, still exist, and they will continue to exist for a longer period, which is a normal expression of the creation of a new social, economic and political system and atmosphere. These are not revolutionary changes which will be able to take place over night. The basic achievement is that we did not chose that type of adventurism in the last five years. The question of civil initiative and democratic public is also a question that requires time. I believe that this is the course in which a part of the democratic processes are moving in the country. The same applies to the question of freedom of the criticism and the public word in the state. I advocate the view that freedom does not have definite borders, but it also bears responsibility. Freedom is a right, but also an obligation. You can have as much of it as you respect it with others. The right to criticism and public speech is an inviolable democratic right and responsibility. In this sense, I am very much encouraged by the course in which the mass media in the Republic of Macedonia are developing, and particularly the criticism that can be spotted in a part of the creativity and intellectual circles.

NM: You must also have some views about the internal situation in the country, i.e. the relations between the political parties, like those which formed the winning coalition at the elections, as well as those which are in opposition. Can you give an insight into this situation?

Kiro Gligorov: "At the beginning, I must underline that throughout this period, i.e. after the first and second elections, I was trying hard to adhere to the principle that I am the president of all the citizens. In this sense, despite the fact that I was elected at direct elections as a candidate of the Alliance for Macedonia, today, I am equally interested in creating a healthy political climate and competition in the country. This refers to the situation in the coalition, but also to the situation in the opposition. The power structure is such as the majority citizens in the country had decided upon. The opposition outside Parliament decided itself to withdraw from the second round of elections and thus, to step out from the democratic test in taking power. One year after the elections, certain political changes in the inter-party relations are obvious. A part of them are logical processes in view of the fact that the process of social and political stratification, as well as the further shaping of the parties, is a lasting process. The Alliance for Macedonia gathered a number of the parties in the country on a unique platform, and it won the elections. Today, changes are obvious within the Alliance. I would not like to give concrete assessments on them, but I would like to say that the unique platform of the Alliance was not just an election key for me, but a basis for democratic and efficient accomplishment of power. It was not a place for domination or exclusive rights, it was not a place for covering up narrow party ambitions and interests, it was not something that you could use once in order to occupy or take positions in the authority, but it was a structure for democratic competition of ideas and views, on a unique platform and with common goals. I hope that some of the Alliance's subjects will act in this way also in the future, regardless of some present discrepancies. As far as the opposition is concerned, I am happy to see some optimism with a part of the parties that are outside Parliament, particularly when it is in the interest of developing a democratic atmosphere in the country.

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NM: Just after the assassination attempt, some foreign mass media published some speculations which were broadcast also in our mass media, on your possible successor. These speculations upset the domestic political scene and aroused the planning of new combinations and coalitions in the structuring of power. Do you regard them to be a normal reaction or a preliminary preparation for the next elections?

Kiro Gligorov: "Well, there had been such speculations even before the assassination attempt. A part of them are probably normal, and perhaps also a preparation for the next elections. The assassination attempt had probably counted on that too. It would be inappropriate for me to comment that from an ethical aspect. However, from a political aspect, I would like to say that a successor will certainly not be looked for in Macedonia, because we are neither a monarchy, nor a dictatorship. I am convinced that at regular and direct elections, in conformity with the Constitution and the laws, the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia will again elect the president of their state.

NM: What are your main engagements now, who visits you most often and when do you plan to fully take over your presidential duties?

Kiro Gligorov: "I usually spend the day in my preparations for resuming the office at the beginning of next year. I have regular meetings with the chairman of the Assembly and the Prime Minister, I have regular meetings with my associates and friends. Normally, with you, journalists, as well."

To Resume Duties in Early 1996

LD2212002695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0006 GMT 22 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Dec 21 (TANJUG)—President of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) Kiro Gligorov, wounded in an attempt on his life in Skopje in early October, was quoted on Thursday as saying he would be returning to his presidential duties in early 1996.

State television quoted President Gligorov as making the statement in an interview to the NOVA MAKEDONIJA daily, which the daily will publish in its Friday [22 December] issue.

Gligorov said that the Bosnian peace accord, initialled in Dayton, Ohio, United States, on Nov. 21 and signed in Paris on Dec. 14, was a historic document that marked the end of a brutal and tragic war.

Speaking about the FYROM's relations with the neighbors, he said that there was no reason to delay further mutual recognition between the FYROM and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Federation of Serbia and Montenegro).

He said that the FYROM had consolidated its international position this autumn, adding that the ratification of the provisional agreement with Greece was of extreme importance to stability in the region.

Gligorov went on to say that relations with another neighbor, Bulgaria, were developing well, and that those with Albania were improving in all fields.

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Prime Minister Oleksy Does Not Intend To Resign

LD2112194795 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1905 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy told journalists after his speech in the Sejm that he did not intend to resign or suspend his leadership of the government. In his opinion, the political effects of Minister Milczanowski's accusation alleging that the prime minister of collaborated with a foreign intelligence service should appear only after the Military Prosecutor's Office, which is conducting the explanatory procedure, clears up the whole matter.

The prime minister gave the assurance that he would not protest if the prosecutor applied for his parliamentary immunity to be lifted. When asked who was not telling the truth, himself or Minister Milczanowski, Prime Minister Oleksy said that the truth would be established by the official body set up to do so, i.e. the Prosecutor's Office. At the same time, Prime Minister Oleksy accused Minister Milczanowski of involving the special services in a political game and of violating the principles of secrecy.

Interior Minister Addresses Sejm on Oleksy Affair

LD2112164895 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1604 GMT 21 Dec 95

[Statement by Internal Affairs Minister Andrzej Milczanowski in the Sejm in Warsaw—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Speaker, may it please the House. I understand that I am answering a question concerning the case associated with my directing to the supreme military prosecutor on 19 December of a resolution for the commencement of penal proceedings in a case relating to a threat to the security of the state. This matter is associated with the person of Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy.

I understand that in the political situation which has arisen I have to provide concrete explanations for the bases of my resolution. I wish to stress that in many media and in the statements of many politicians this matter is already the subject of numerous articles and commentaries. It is clear that I cannot reveal most of the details since they are included in the classified category.

I can present the following details: The matter has many strands and was continued on an operational level for several years. In the course of the activities of the operational services of the State Protection Office [UOP], information was obtained, from home and abroad, that one of the foreign security services had a permanent informer in Polish political circles with his origin in the former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. The breakthrough came in 1995, when information was obtained indicating Mr. Jozef Oleksy as the informer for a foreign security service.

I would like to stress that this information was obtained after Jozef Oleksy's government was formed. Therefore, the accusation that the UOP services did not make any remarks about people running for the government which was formed in March this year is groundless.

The information obtained indicates that Mr. Jozef Oleksy maintained contacts with officers from foreign intelligence services since 1982 or 1983—up to 1995. This period can be divided into two parts: up to 1989, and immediately after 4 June 1989 up to 1995.

I will now discuss the second period. From the information we have it transpires that from 1990 to 1995 Mr. Jozef Oleksy held many meetings with officers from foreign intelligence services, during which, with full awareness, he handed over information and documents, including secret ones.

The UOP has also obtained information that Mr. Jozef Oleksy was registered as a qualified source of information in the secret, specially restricted register, including his pseudonym, with foreign intelligence services.

I would like to assure the esteemed house that accidental contacts between persons from political circles and officers belonging to foreign intelligence services, who often came to Poland under diplomatic or other guises, have never constituted any grounds for making accusations against anyone. And even if in this matter the whole issue concerned merely social contacts, there would simply be no case.

Guided by this principle, on 4 September 1994 the head of the UOP told the then Sejm Speaker, Jozef Oleksy, that one of the persons with whom he was maintaining contacts was an officer of a foreign intelligence service.

Despite this, after 4 September 1994, information was obtained about the maintenance of further contacts with officers of a foreign service. I wish to state clearly that as minister of internal affairs I do not have the right to evaluate whether a crime was committed. The sole bodies competent to make such an evaluation are the prosecutor's office and the courts. On the other hand, as a state official, I have the statutory obligation to inform the prosecutor's office about the existence of justified suspicion that a crime has been committed—especially a serious crime.

I was not motivated by emotions or particular interests. In October 1995, together with the head of the UOP, I informed President Lech Walesa about this case.

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On 5 December 1995, I presented an extensive written report to President Lech Walesa. On 11 December 1995, in the presence of Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, I presented the same written report to the president-elect, Mr. Aleksander Kwasniewski. On 12 December, in the presence of Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, I had another conversation on this matter with the president-elect. I firmly reject the accusation that the special services or anyone else was involved in a provocation, manipulation, pressure, or blackmail. The sole aim, both of the special services and also of myself, was, is, and remains to determine the real state of affairs.

As for the question of why at this moment—that is on 19 December [as heard]—I directed a resolution to the Supreme Military Prosecutor I will reply with a question: And when was I to have sent this resolution? In the course of the election campaign? Or else before the ruling of the Supreme Court? [indistinct interruptions from the chamber] What accusations would then have been thrown at me, and probably not only at me?

Tomorrow, President Lech Walesa is leaving office. I am also leaving my post tomorrow. I would like to tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that this is one the most difficult moments in my life. I feel a heavy burden of responsibility upon my shoulders.

In my actions I have tried to be independent and balanced. I am not connected with any political party. [laughter in the hall]. I was able to have a different opinion in some cases from Mr. president, from prime ministers; and there were also instances when I had to oppose the opinions and even the actions of certain politicians and trade unionists; for example, let me recall 26 May this year and the Independent Self-governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity [demonstrations in Warsaw in front of the building of the Council of Ministers].

I have always placed, and still do, the good of the state first. And finally, I would like to say that I could not leave this matter to its own fate. I have fulfilled the duty of my office, and nothing else. Thank you very much.

Oleksy Addresses Sejm

LD2112192395 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1613 GMT 21 Dec 95

[Speech by Polish Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy to a Sejm session in Warsaw—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych] I ask Jozef Oleksy, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, to speak.

[Oleksy] Mr. Speaker, may it please the House! It is understandable that every head of government that meets with such behavior from a minister and the services subordinate to him must be shocked. And I am shocked with what has been said here and with the fact that the concept of secrecy, the concept of procedures, the concept of the courts today stand seriously questioned. For, the chamber, in the presence of the gallery, the mass media, who have for two or three days now, and long ago, ruled on the verdicts in this case, from leaks from the materials of Minister Milczanowski, is today hearing what is purportedly the first, honest presentation of the case and its course.

I understand that Minister Milczanowski could not leave this case, nor any other that could be politically exploited, for another time, since, for Minister Milczanowski, the time of the state and the Polish state is ending with the moment when Lech Walesa and his team depart. And that is the reason...[applause]

That is the reason why Minister Milczanowski, such is my evaluation, Mr. Professor [Oleksy is addressing an indistinct interruption from Freedom Union Deputy Professor Bronislaw Geremek]...

[Geremek, interrupting] Mr. Speaker...

[Oleksy, continuing] And I have the right to express it here since the case refers to me...

[Geremek, interrupting] Mr. Speaker...

[Zych] Mr. Chairman, Mr Prime Minister—I am sorry...

[Unidentified deputy] I very much request that the speaker silence the chamber. [commotion, shouting, many voices indistinct]

[Unidentified correspondent] A polemic has begun between Professor Bronislaw Geremek and the prime minister.

[Oleksy] I also request, Mr. Speaker, that the chamber hear me out calmly, for serious accusations have been made here and I wish to address them honestly.

I have, may it please the House, already said at the start that, as of this moment, when the chamber has in an open way called the minister and the prime minister to speak, as of this moment, we know what the Polish parliament has commenced. The Polish parliament has commenced a great political debate, which will at any moment now cease to be about this concrete issue, but will relate to the state, its services, to which Minister Milczanowski so often and so beautifully appealed, who serves only the state and always only the state.

May it please the House! I hereby state that the State Protection Office [UOP] materials to a great extent—are fabricated. I contacted many a diplomat and I could not

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even recognize names of dozens of them today. Among them there were Soviet and Russian diplomats. Contacts were maintained quite closely and quite frequently with many of them. And so what?

Eighteen months ago, when the minister and head of the UOP officially told me that one of those persons was a KGB officer, I stopped, in keeping with the principle I do not doubt, to have any contacts with him and I made it impossible for him to even attempt to contact me. Can you draw conclusions from this that my activities were that of an agent or a spy through all these years? And to speak about this calmly from the rostrum of the parliament to the whole world?

Esteemed House! What is the meaning of all this? The issue is not just Minister Milczanowski's concern that the law should remain the law, and that matters should not be lost after his departure. Institutions remain after his departure: the Ministry of Internal Affairs remains just as well as services, so wronged by Minister Milczanowski, who made them serve just one political option and not just the state as a whole. This is my opinion.

Not all of the services. I know full well, and I am aware, that there was a group under Minister Milczanowski's leadership that has, with exceptional vigor and for a considerable period of time now, been preparing materials against the prime minister and head of government. I will say that in the recent period, when I had began to receive signals, altogether disturbing ones, that such a group was active—I do not wish to use names, I will name them when proceedings are in progress. When these signals started to come in to me, and I did not know that this might concern me, because, may it please the House, perhaps I ought to start from this, and I now wish to firmly say this: I never was the agent of anyone. It is I who is saying this, Jozef Oleksy, in the Sejm of the republic.

Who started this affair? Who pulled part of the special services into this case? After the end of proceedings—as to the result of which I have no doubts, for I know myself and I know who I am—that person will have to reply, upon my summons, and also truthfully and also before a court. It saddens me to say this, since Minister Milczanowski played the role of an enormously expert and professional minister, loyal only to the state. I forget about the fact that, as the head of the government, I never had the possibility of obtaining from Minister Milczanowski that which I was really interested in as regards more detailed and more confidential reports. Others, on the other hand, had full access to various reports, so long as they could meet and get into the ministry.

So, I maintain, may it please the House, my thesis that this whole affair, albeit, touching upon contacts that really exist and relating to concrete names, this case has its political meaning and is a political provocation.

And I do not at this moment wish to become involved in who was concerned to do what and who might be concerned to do what with this provocation. I will say that when these reports began to get through to me, may it please the House, I addressed Minister Czempinski [head of UOP] with a simple request, I repeat, not knowing who this was about, and the reports gave signals that this concerned people in a high circle of government and authority, that materials on these persons were being gathered and completed, and very professionally put together. I addressed Minister Czempinski with a request for the granting of such information, since the law on the UOP clearly states that in a case of important information associated with the security of the state there is an obligation to pass such information on to the head of government in the first instance. I addressed him, and Minister Czempinski confirmed that such activities were in progress and that such materials were being prepared. But he refused to inform me, saying that he had passed then to Minister Milczanowski, who had forbidden him from passing this information to the prime minister. Today I understand that, perhaps, this was a great courtesy on the part of Minister Milczanowski in relation to the prime minister, since his name was there, he did not wish to offend the prime minister by passing him this information important to the security of the state.

I thus asked Minister Milczanowski to see me, this was on 5 December, asking him, in the presence of Minister Czempinski, to inform me whether such information was being prepared by the UOP. Minister Milczanowski replied that he would not grant me a reply on this subject. He left my office, together with Minister Czempinski.

On 7 December, I thus sent a letter to Minister Milczanowski, that in association with our conversation I requested to be informed whether the UOP had over the period of the last few months obtained significant, important information relating to members of the government, or else higher-ranking state officials and also their closest associates. I received a reply to this, from Minister Milczanowski, that he had passed on the conversation with me to President Walesa and had been freed, by the president, from the obligation to inform the prime minister about these matters.

Therefore, I replied to Minister Milczanowski in writing that, as one of the guardians of the law, as it seemed to me until now, he should know full well that the

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prime minister's right of access to information ensues from binding laws and not from a free interpretation by anybody, even President Walesa himself.

I sent a similar letter to President Lech Walesa on 11 December. There was no answer. Minister Milczanowski, on the other hand, replied that he did not share my opinion about preparations to political provocation, as I called it.

May it please the House! The issue was described as one concerning the security of the state. I have with me a secret report, dated December 1995, about the state of Poland's security. This report does not contain any claim of the slightest threat of the state that would ensue from activities of its institutions or concrete persons.

The same applies, Esteemed House, to the second report, dated December 1995, and issued by the Ministry of National Defense on its own activities. Chapter Four of this report contains emphatic and identical statements.

What is, therefore, the state of Poland's security, but not from the viewpoint of an aggressor, from the viewpoint of organized crime, but from the viewpoint of access to secret, important for the state security, information that is at the disposal of state services? This is my question after many months of observing the activities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs under the leadership of Andrzej Milczanowski.

Esteemed House! I want to say that I am very deeply worried by the fact that a group of people in the special services decide about state affairs with the omission of the proper course and normal procedures, I am worried by this. In such circumstances any person can be accused, all material can be fabricated. I am deeply convinced that the Sejm Commission for Special Services will decide to examine the not insignificant signals I have, about how much state money was spent in this matter to obtain the desired materials, from foreign services as well, from foreign services as well.

So, when I used or else use the words meetings, provocations, conspiracy I know that it is somewhat exaggerated. I do not know want it to apply to all the employees of the Polish intelligence service, counterintelligence, the investigatory services, the UOP. I do not want this, since I deeply believe that the majority of these services, apart from those with political ambitions, apart from people directed by vindictiveness and political revenge, that most of these services know why they exist and what does belong to their obligations. But, may it please the House, it is true that this is a matter associated with the security of the state, only that the threat to this security of the state is not Jozef Oleksy, a patriot and a man who has been working hard for Poland for many years. Only there are faulty mechanisms, lasting political divisions, among which divisions, political disputes, and struggles we cannot rise above, to that which is shared by us, which is the state and its security, honesty and integrity in the functioning of services and institutions, and we are ready to use everything, and always, so as just to stick to our point and win. That is how I painfully interpret this.

I will also say, that what Minister Milczanowski says, that it was only toward the end of this period and in the period that I held the post of prime minister that these matters were investigated, is not true. No, may it please the House, in February I, as I said yesterday, in February I addressed Minister Milczanowski by name, and Minister Czempinski, with a list of all the candidates who I was taking into account in the creation of the government.

At the top of the list I put the name Jozef Oleksy, for I thought I should—that sometimes the candidate might not even know that there are matters connected with him that could be an obstacle to his holding state posts. And I received a reply, with the personal signature of Minister Milczanowski: An absolutely clean profile for the candidate for prime minister. Mr. Minister, why are you now saying that it was recent months that decided on the matter as a whole, since the investigation, the collection of material, and the surveillance went on for a long time and you know this well? The rest will be, may it please the House, the subject of the proceedings that have been set in motion. It will certainly be painful for me, but it is a good thing it has been brought, and I thank Waldemar Pawlak and the colleague from the Polish Peasant Party for forcing this report today, although for the Polish State I would rather the mass media here present exercised restraint in headlines, in verdicts, in accusation. Let the law decide in a state governed by the law: The court, the Prosecutor's Office, and the truth. Thank you very much. [applause]

Sejm Speaker Reassures Public

LD2112195895 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1900 GMT 21 Dec 95

[Speech by Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych at the Sejm in Warsaw—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Fellow countrymen. I speak to you as speaker of the Sejm of the Polish Republic, with a feeling of responsibility for the fate of our homeland and especially with the conviction that further democratic development of our homeland must be ensured.

This is the opinion and position of the whole of our parliament, which is the highest legislative power of the state.

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For several dozen hours our country has found itself in a difficult political position. Serious accusations have been made against the representatives of the highest state bodies and special services. In view of those accusations and multiplying speculations, doubts, and the atmosphere of unease, I wish to assure you, as Sejm speaker, that the Sejm of the Polish Republic, acting as part of its constitutional rights and duties, will do everything to clarify the situation and bring it to a full conclusion.

Since the matter has become public and familiar to the Sejm, it was a subject of multifarious and objective analyses of the Sejm presidium. Intensive work was done yesterday at the Sejm Commission for Special Services. The commission met the Sejm speaker, and heard the addresses by the prime minister and the minister of internal affairs. Today, the Sejm heard the information by the chairman of the council of ministers [Jozef Oleksy] and the information by the minister of internal affairs [Andrzej Milczanowski].

The Sejm has decided that a special deputies' commission will concern itself with the further clarification of this matter. This commission cannot, of course, substitute a court, which is the only body entitled to finally rule on this matter. The work of the commission will however contribute to the clarification of all the circumstances of the crisis that our country is experiencing. We must obtain clear replies to the question of whether the suspicions and accusations were made as a result of activity of the appropriate bodies, which was thorough and in accordance with the law. What role in the creation of the present situation was played by the special services? We must clarify whether there was a transgression or else breaking of the law by any state body. We must also familiarize ourselves with the full context of the situation that has arisen.

I assure you that the Sejm and its bodies will fulfill their constitutional obligations, directed in their actions solely by the interest of Poland and its citizens, and especially by the principle of adherence to the laws.

I wish to stress that we have at our disposal all the legal resources for the resolution of the problems today. We will redouble our efforts for the fastest possible stabilization of the political situation and the thorough clarification of all the circumstances of the matter being discussed. Our democratic system is already sufficiently crystallized and strong to resolve even the most serious political crises along the road of constitutional actions.

Fellow countrymen, in taking on the office of speaker of the Sejm of the Polish Republic I gave assurances that I will always and everywhere, in all circumstances, stand guard over utter adherence to the constitutional rights of the Sejm as the highest representation of the Polish nation. I will meet this obligation to the end. The role of the Sejm of the republic is, especially at this difficult moment, the guaranteeing of the stability of the state, the assurance of the calm rhythm of its life. I am deeply convinced that the Sejm of the Polish Republic will fulfill this task. I hope that despite this tension, which our fatherland has done nothing to deserve, the coming Christmas holidays will run their course calmly. I wish you this with all my heart. Thank you for your attention.

Premier, Minister Comment on Oleksy Affair

LD2112211495 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 2000 GMT 21 Dec 95

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Interior Minister] Andrzej Milczanowski has categorically denied the accusations made by Jozef Oleksy that the documents testifying against the prime minister and gathered by the State Protection Office [UOP] were fabricated. He added that revealing them is not, as the prime minister claims, a political provocation. [video shows Milczanowski encircled by journalists]

Jozef Oleksy is of the view that this is a political game. The prime minister added that he will not tender his resignation and that when an application is made to lift his parliamentary immunity he will not oppose it, and that he will make himself available to be at the disposal of all legal procedures envisaged in a state of law.

[Begin Oleksy recording, to journalists] I just want to say one thing, for it to be clear, that this pathetic pretense of alleged adherence to the laws on the part of Minister Milczanowski is not true. The minister is a member of the government. The minister has at his disposal and is a member of the Defense Affairs Committee of the Council of Ministers. Minister Milczanowski is a member of the National Defense Committee [KOK], which met all the time, as did the Defense Affairs Committee of the Council of Ministers. At a secret meeting of the Council of Ministers yesterday the minister did not say a word of that which he said today in the Sejm. Minister Milczanowski is playing a political game. That is my view. And I appeal to the materials prepared in his ministry, and into which he has drawn part of the special services, a matter that I exceptionally regret. [sentence as heard]

Kwasniewski Counsels Against 'Sinister Campaign'

LD2112221795 Warsaw PAP in Polish 2031 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Lodz, 21 Dec—At a meeting with residents of Lodz today, President-elect Aleksander

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Kwasniewski said that there was no threat to Poland's security "either from the outside or from the inside." He called on the politicians, including the opposition, "not to conduct a sinister campaign" and "not to bring about the destruction of the state's authority."

"In Poland we have a legally elected parliament, which has a democratic mandate, and a legally elected government, which works on the basis of parliamentary majority. At the head of this government there is the prime minister, who is a competent politician and who proved many times how devoted he was to the Polish cause," Kwasniewski said.

The president-elect promised that he would do everything in keeping with "legal and democratic procedures" to clarify the matter of accusations of "high state officials of selling information to foreign intelligence services" to its very end. "This is an important condition for the construction of the state ruled by the laws," Kwasniewski explained.

He assured that regardless of obstacles he would do everything to make the five years of his presidency good for Poland and its citizens. He said that Polish society came out in favor of the program and a man who has been known, is known, and whose every side was presented during the recent election campaign.

"This is a democratic choice, which—especially after the ruling of the Supreme Court—cannot be subjected to any discussion at all. I will never agree to this, and I warn all those who wish to manipulate public opinion. I warn those who have acknowledged that on 19 November there ensued only a passing episode on the Polish democratic road and also those who are trying through different methods to undermine the result of the elections," Kwasniewski said.

He appealed to electors for them not to demolish the principles of democracy, which "in Poland ought to allow for the normal departure and arrival of [political] teams in accordance with the mandate of the majority."

According to the president-elect, the most important task for the coalition and opposition forces in 1996 and also for "all politicians thinking responsibly about Poland" ought to be the adoption of a new Constitution.

"Poland will be a democratic state of law when we will be capable of resting upon clear, legible, and socially accepted constitutional rules. The Constitution will decide about the role and the position of particular state bodies," Kwasniewski declared.

He stated that there are chances in 1996 for "the commencement of serious negotiations" upon the entry of Poland to the European Union and NATO.

In Kwasniewski's view, his presidency might be an opportunity for the fulfillment of the expectations of young people. "For the coming five years I will do everything so that your ambitions and aspirations be fulfilled, so that you be able not only to find work, but also to be proud of the fact that you are Poles. That is my task," said the president-elect to his young electors.

Kwasniewski declared that he will seek to demonstrate that Poland is a country that is developing and has European perspectives, and not a "country of arguments, disputes, and hopeless comedy, which certain frustrated politicians strive to maintain."

Leszek Miller, deputy chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, who was accompanying the president-elect, appealed for cooperation with Kwasniewski also to be undertaken by those who did not vote for him.

The meeting with Kwasniewski commenced with singing by the choir of pilgrims from the opera "Nabucco" by Giuseppe Verdi, in a rendition by artists from the Grand Theater [in Lodz]. Around 1,500 participants in the meeting interrupted the 40-minute speech by the president-elect with ovations.

Officers Involved in Oleksy Case Promoted

WS2212123295 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by A.M.: "Nominations for Generals in UOP and MSW"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *A day before his term ran out, President Lech Walesa handed general nominations to four officers of the Office of State Protection [UOP] and the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW]. Minister Milczanowski confirmed that some of them were involved in the collection of materials on the activities of Prime Minister Oleksy as a secret agent.*

Henryk Jasik: Currently he is a deputy minister of internal affairs; his responsibilities include, among other areas, the police. He was a full-time Polish intelligence officer who reportedly took part in the spectacular action of evacuating U.S. agents from Iraq during the "Desert Storm" operation. The CIA awarded him with a medal. After 1989 he was accused of taking part in the burning of [communist] Security Services files. On 1 April 1992, when the ministry was headed by Antoni Macierewicz, he left the office of the director of the First UOP Board (intelligence), but then returned to the ministry when Milczanowski became its head. Now he has announced that he will leave the MSW.

Marian Zacharski: On 15 September 1994 he was appointed head of intelligence at the request of Minister

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Miczanowski. Due to the violent reaction of opposition deputies, who accused the minister of appointing officers with a communist record to high posts, Zacharski resigned after just a few days and became an adviser to the UOP head. In reality, he was considered to be the "gray eminence" of the services. Zacharski was also referred to as a super spy, because when he was "under cover" of a Polish company in the United States, he stole "Patriot" missile blueprints from the Americans, for which he was arrested in the United States and sentenced for life. Later on, he was exchanged for American agents detained in Poland.

Wiktor Fonfara: He has been the head of the UOP Investigation Board since 16 October 1991. Under his leadership this board discussed issues involving, among others, Art "B" [company whose directors ran away to Israel with tens of millions of U.S. dollars], the Foreign Debt Servicing Fund, Dobrzynski [member of Center Accord who was under investigation], Kuklinski [alleged spy for the CIA], and recently, Krzysztof Niezgoda [businessman accused of appropriating a large sum of money].

Bogdan Libera: He became the head of the First Board (of intelligence) on 1 October 1994. Previously he was a Polish intelligence officer in Austria, where officially he held the office of a commercial adviser in the Polish Embassy in Vienna. Libera is 50 years old and a member of the service cadres. He is a graduate of the Polish intelligence school in Kiejkuty, Mazurian region; (UOP head Gromoslaw Czempinski is also a graduate of this school). Libera's job was primarily to collect economic information. He is considered to be a great expert in his field.

Warsaw Press Reaction to Oleksy Affair

WS2212132795

[FBIS Editorial Report] On 22 December three major Warsaw vernacular dailies published commentaries on the speeches made yesterday in the Sejm by Internal Affairs Minister Andrzej Milczanowski and Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy, as well as on the current political situation.

GAZETA WYBORCZA publishes a front-page, 150-word commentary by Chief Editor Adam Michnik entitled "Polish Raison d'Etat." Michnik writes that "no reasonable person is entitled to decide today whether Jozef Oleksy is guilty. The Polish raison d'etat requires that all the circumstances linked to this allegation be scrupulously and publicly clarified." Michnik ends by appealing to Oleksy to "immediately abandon his Sejm immunity and resign from the office of the prime minister until the case is fully clarified."

RZECZPOSPOLITA carries on page five a 550-word commentary by Chief Editor Dariusz Fikus entitled "A Difficult Test." After outlining the two speeches delivered by Milczanowski and Oleksy in the Sejm yesterday, Fikus states that according to the prime minister, the fact that the issue was made public before a court of law investigated it and passed a judgment "proves that we are witnessing a political provocation." Fikus adds that "the prime minister forgot that it was the Sejm that demanded this information from Minister Milczanowski." The RZECZPOSPOLITA chief editor goes on to say that "we are witnessing a serious political crisis; its cause is obvious. All power is being taken over by one political group, a group which, as Wojciech Jaruzelski has recalled, maintained fraternal relations with our biggest neighbor. They were so fraternal that boundaries of state secrets and of state interests were consciously blurred." Fikus believes that the Sejm is today "the only institution whose objectivity we can still believe," even though the domination of one party "is a serious threat to this institution as well." According to Fikus, "there is no good solution to this problem." He believes, however, that although though there are "obvious losses," such as "loss of prestige, as well as discrediting of the political elites and institutions," it would have been "even more dangerous to keep it all secret." Fikus concludes that after all, "it is better that things have turned out this way," adding that "now the issue must be thoroughly investigated and conclusions drawn."

ZYCIE WARSZAWY runs a 250-word, front-page commentary by Bronislaw Wildstein entitled "Applause in the Parliament." Commenting on the prime minister's speech in the Sejm, Wildstein writes that Oleksy "complained that some politicians and media had already decided that he is guilty. However, no one has made such unequivocal statements. Actually, it is Oleksy's party comrades who keep talking about a provocation and groundless accusations, even though they do not have sufficient information on the issue." According to Wildstein, "in this context, the statements made by the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] on the need for a solid investigation sound like platitudes. Incidentally, neither the SLD nor Oleksy even mentioned the need to suspend Oleksy as prime minister for the duration of the investigation." Wildstein points out that "for the SLD the entire issue has only one, political dimension, as if it did not matter at all who heads the government. The Polish Peasant Party, in turn, decided that this situation is a good opportunity to try to extend the sphere of its political influence. In return for staying in the coalition, the peasants want ministerial posts in the 'presidential' ministries, as well as in the Justice Ministry." He adds that "the fact that they may share the loot in a gov-

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ernment headed by a KGB agent apparently does not discourage them at all."

Further Press Reaction

WS2112123695

[FBIS Editorial Report] On 21 December four major Warsaw vernacular dailies published front-page commentaries on the situation that has developed since President Lech Walesa leveled charges against Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy.

Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA, a left of center independent daily, carries an untitled, 150-word commentary by chief editor Adam Michnik. Michnik points out that if the allegations leveled by Internal Affairs Minister Andrzej Milczanowski prove false, "he should be severely punished." According to Michnik, "now the entire truth should be revealed. Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy must regain his credibility if he wants to continue as the head of the government. Therefore, he should immediately abandon his Sejm immunity and subject himself to the usual legal procedures. However, Prosecutor General Jerzy Jaskiernia—in the name of his own credibility—should not supervise these procedures."

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY, a centrist independent daily, runs a 250-word commentary by Pawel Fafara entitled "A New Coalition." Fafara writes that "all doubts should be clarified by a court of law. Wherever the issue is unclear, these doubts should be interpreted to the advantage of the defendant." He adds that "people who are facing justified suspicions ought to resign from their offices. One cannot govern a state if one is accused of high treason." Fafara points out that "it is up to the parliament whether or not normal legal action will be taken in the prime minister's case." He notes that "the stand taken by the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] is unequivocal. Even when they were not familiar with the charges, the postcommunists stated that they were a political provocation. Oleksy ruled out the possibility of resigning from his office." He adds that Kwasniewski "has known about the allegations for a few days and did not do anything." According to Fafara, in this situation "the only possibility of resolving the problem is formation of a new coalition and of a new government," which, he believes, might consist primarily of the Polish Peasant Party and the Union of Labor. He believes that such a move might be "politically advantageous also to the Freedom Union and other parties."

Warsaw NOWA EUROPA, which is primarily a financial daily, carries a 150-word, untitled commentary by Chief Editor Andrzej K. Wroblewski. Wroblewski states that "Walesa has on numerous occasions proved that he is a good winner, but also that he is a bad loser." He adds that he would like to believe that "the entire Oleksy affair is only a 'vengeance from the grave.'" He points out, however, that if Oleksy "really was a KGB agent, then both he and the entire SLD will lose the moral right to wield power in Poland."

Warsaw TRYBUNA, a leftist daily, publishes a 250-word commentary by Chief Editor Dariusz Szymczycha, under the "One Hundred Words" rubric. Szymczycha writes that "the first democratically-elected president of the Polish Republic is leaving his office in a bad atmosphere—which he has created himself. Just to get personal satisfaction and to take political vengeance, he brought nervous days and destabilization to Poland; he also jeopardized Poland's reputation abroad." According to the chief editor, "it has also become clear that we are living in a police state. Special services again want to wield power over us. Instead of serving the state, they are only serving certain people. We managed to cope with Walesa in the elections. How is the state going to cope with the Office of State Protection, which is not chosen through elections? Providing an answer to this question will be a test of the real democracy in our country."

Oleksy Names Foreign, Defense, Interior Ministers

LD2212105995 Warsaw PAP in Polish
1039 GMT 22 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 22 Dec—Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy told correspondents at the Sejm today that Eugeniusz Wyzner becomes acting head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Andrzej Karkoszka of the Ministry of National Defense, and Zbigniew Sobotka of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The prime minister said that the new foreign affairs, defense, and interior ministers will probably be appointed on Saturday after the president-elect's swearing-in ceremony, or immediately after Christmas.

Oleksy said that the case of Gromoslaw Czempinski, head of the State Protection Office, who has "placed himself at the prime minister's disposal," will be decided in consultation with the new minister of internal affairs.

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Tokes: 'Accord' Best Approach for Reconciliation

AU2212080395 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 18 Dec 95 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Laszlo Tokes Tackles the Issue of Romanian-Hungarian Reconciliation in Timisoara"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Present in Timisoara to attend the commemorative ceremonies dedicated to the Timisoara martyrs, those courageous and united young people who sacrificed their lives to light the flame of the Romanian Revolution as well as that of the dignity of our nation, Bishop Laszlo Tokes, honorary president of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], insisted on again tackling the much commented issue of Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation. "We are aware of the fact that, in their joint fatherland, the Romanians and the Hungarians cannot do without each other, nor act to the detriment of the other side nor separate.

"Our national community, however, as a community entitled to full civil rights in Romania, is making efforts to achieve a political 'accord' and therefore makes this offer to the Romanian majority nation—actually the UDMR is making this offer to the Romanian state—which, while maintaining the territorial integrity of the country, could guarantee the full equality of rights between the Hungarian community and the Romanian nation, the former's individual and collective minority rights, which all boils down to the preservation of its national identity. This 'accord' seems to be the best approach in our endeavor to achieve the Romanian-Hungarian historic reconciliation, security, stability, and peace for Romania and Hungary."

Niculescu Elected President of Car Drivers Party

AU2112184095 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 18 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by ROMPRES: "A New Party, That of the Car Drivers, Was Set Up"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Car Drivers National Party is the newest party on the Romanian political scene.

On 16 December at the Parc Hotel in the capital city, this political party held its first congress, which was attended by approximately 300 delegates representing their branches in all the counties of the country, including those in Bucharest. The delegates elected Constantin Niculescu as party president, as well as the three deputy presidents, two secretaries, the national council of the party, which consists of 65 members, the steering committee, consisting of 17 members, and the control and revision committee. This center party, as its program-platform claims it to be, "sustains the plurality of parties and parliamentary democracy, the separation of the state powers, and combats for the furthering of market economy, Romania's integration within European and euro-atlantic bodies, as well as the development and modernization of the automobilist phenomenon, so that the latter should genuinely become a dynamic, modern, and high-performance sector in Romania's economic and social rebirth."

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Thaler: Relations With Italy 'Pressing' Issue

AU2012182795 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 20 Dec 95

[Report by Nadja Pengov on news conference by Slovene Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler in Ljubljana on 20 December—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Pengov] Foreign Minister Thaler sees the main failure of Slovene policy in the fact that it did not manage to break free from the internal political squabbles. He firmly believes that the law on real estate passed yesterday will reduce pressures from abroad.

As he said, Slovenia will continue to strive for integration into Europe on an equal footing. Considerable progress has been achieved in the intense dialogue with the Spanish presidency over the past six months, as he said, also away from the logic of yielding to the Italian demands. The Italian EU presidency will come next:

[Thaler] Now, if ever, Italy must decide whether it will reconfirm its European orientation or not. The fact is that Italy is one of the founding members of the European Community, today's European Union, and we hope that, also by virtue of this fact, it will agree with other members that the associate agreement with Slovenia should be signed.

[Pengov] The foreign minister considers relations with Italy to be the most pressing issue of Slovene foreign policy. He rejects all claims that there is no understanding for our country in Europe and in the world. As for relations with Croatia, he said that it takes two to reach an agreement. With the arrival of the new Croatian Government, he expects the interest of Zagreb to increase. He is convinced that our vital interests, even if the present situation continues, will not be threatened.

Coalition Signs Agreement on Budget Proposal

AU2012213095 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today the representatives of the coalition parties signed an agreement on the budget for the coming year. The document defines that the scope of the budget expenditure is not to exceed 567.9 billion Slovene tolars. The government will forward this amended proposal to the parliament, which is expected to adopt it on 16 January. A simultaneous signing by the leaders of the clubs of deputies is supposed to guarantee that the deputies of the government parties will only support the amendments put forward by the government or the amendments coordinated beforehand.

With the signing of the budget agreement, the government parties pledged to also pass, parallel to the budget, the amendments to the law on changes to pensions and disability insurance in the State Chamber. With a law on the social security contribution share, the government will reduce this contribution by 2.7 percent.

Following the signing of the agreement, the representatives of the coalition parties voiced satisfaction with what has been achieved; however, some members of the coalition voiced doubt whether the budget would facilitate the effective functioning of its users.

United List President: 'No Early Elections'

AU2212073995 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The coalition parties' agreement on the budget creates a possibility that the coalition will again spring to life, Janez Kocjancic, president of the United List of Social Democrats, said at the party's news conference today. He was of the opinion that the work of the government coalition this year was successful. According to Kocjancic, economic growth continues and the unburdening of industry by 2.7 percentage points will allow this growth to continue. According to Kocjancic, this will also be the government's priority task next year. He pointed out that 63,000 new work places have been created since the beginning of the government's term of office and that the party is successfully fulfilling its electoral promises in this area.

Kocjancic was of the opinion that the politicization instigated by the opposition prevented the financial rehabilitation of the TAM enterprise and that those who are stalling it cannot evade responsibility.

Kocjancic believes that there will be no early elections. Even if the Christian Democrats leave the government, the United List and the Liberal Democracy will find enough support with other parties to bring its term of office to an end.

The confidence vote in Economics Minister Tajnikar and the debate on foreign policy will be the first tests of the coalition.

Kocjancic admires the patience of Prime Minister Drnovsek, who is calmly enduring the attacks of a coalition partner.

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Federal

Premier Announces Plans To Reshuffle Government

LD2112181495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1710 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic held talks in Podgorica today with Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic and Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic on the functioning of the federal state, and informed them about his intention to reshuffle the federal government.

Here is a statement from the office of the Montenegrin president:

"Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic and Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic held a meeting in Podgorica today with Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic.

The main topic of their talks was current political issues concerning the functioning of the federal state. They emphasized their determination to launch a series of concrete activities aimed at effective discharging of duties by the federal bodies and their cooperation, links and coordination with the duties of the bodies of the two republics, in accordance with the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

In this regard, Federal Prime Minister Kontic informed President Bulatovic and Prime Minister Djukanovic about the results of yesterday's session of the Assembly of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, at which a report on the Dayton peace agreement was adopted, the readjustment of the federal budget for 1995 and the federal budget for 1996 were endorsed.

Prime Minister Kontic also told them about his decision to reshuffle his Cabinet, on which an exhaustive exchange of views was conducted," the statement says in conclusion.

Lilic Departs for PRC, Comments on Prospects

AU1612202695 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 16 Dec 95

[Report by Tatjana Grkovic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Accompanying President Lilic on his official visit to PRC are Federal Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic and Federal Trade Minister Djordje Siradovic, together with the Yugoslav component of the inter-government commission for trade and economic cooperation with the PRC. The delegation also includes Assistant Foreign Minister Zivadin Jovanovic. Prominent Yugoslav businessmen who cooperate with PRC companies departed for Beijing on a separate flight.

Prior to departure, President Lilic made a statement for the correspondents who attended the ceremonial farewell:

[Begin Lilic recording] I hope and I am deeply convinced considering that this is practically our first visit after the lifting of the sanctions. [sentence as heard] I am convinced that the visit will truly bring what we all hope for—namely, the opening of new possibilities for FRY, the Republic of Serbia, and the Republic of Montenegro which will crown everything that has been accomplished over the past few years. I believe that our comeback will truly be successful. Perhaps it is a lucky circumstance that the PRC is the first country to which were we are travelling following the suspension of the sanctions. I am convinced that the PRC will follow the policy it has pursued while the sanctions where in force. I believe that there is truly nothing (?better) than to establish the best possible relations with such a country. I truly believe that the trip will be successful. [end recording]

The chief of the Yugoslav state was seen off by Federal Interior Minister Vukasin Jokanovic, Colonel-General Momcilo Persic, commander of the Yugoslav Army General Staff, Federal Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic, and Federal Prime Minister Dr. Radoje Kontic. The ceremony was also attended by the PRC charge d'affaires in Yugoslavia.

The forthcoming five-day visit of President Lilic in the PRC is the first official visit by the FRY president abroad after the signing of the peace treaty on Bosnia and the suspension of sanctions against our country.

Greek Government Offers $100 Million Credit

AU2012211095 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 20 Dec 95

[Report by Nadezda Medic—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Greek credit in excess of $100 million offered to Yugoslavia can, in view of the fact that it has a repetitive character, in time multiply by several times, the members of the high state business delegation of this country explained during the talks in the Serbian Economic Chamber. However, this money will not take the form of a loan, but the form of a credit that will enable the purchase of Greek goods and services and, if banks agree, also the realization of infrastructure works. It is also important that the lists of the credited products should be compiled to suit mutual interests and be confirmed by both governments.

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A Yugoslav Bank chosen to perform these deals must be a state bank.

Vlajko Stojilkovic, president of the Serbian Economic Chamber, said that the Economic Chamber will definitely participate in the creation of lists. As he said, both sides should avoid giving jobs to small, wild enterprises that are avoiding their obligations. Our economy is particularly interested in the credit for the imports of certain raw materials, goods of general consumption, and citrus fruit from Greece.

The guests accepted Stojilkovic's suggestion that the economic cooperation should accomplish the level of the traditional friendly relations. They added that the present talks need not end at the protocol level but could grow into a new strategy of bilateral relations.

Greece Promoting Economic Ties

LD2012201395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1850 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 20 (TANJUG)—By offering to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia a credit to the value of 100 million dollars, Greece is expressing its interest in promoting bilateral cooperation, Vassilis Kanellakis, director of Greek Ministry of National Economy, said Wednesday in Belgrade.

During a meeting with the President of Serbia's Chamber of Economy Vlajko Stojiljkovic, Kanellakis explained that for the approval of this credit, lists of products and services that need financing must be drawn up with the approval of the two governments.

The credit is to be repaid in three to five years, with a changing interest rate, Kanellakis said.

Stojiljkovic said that Yugoslav businessmen were interested in strengthening economic ties with Greece, which are lagging behind overall political and social relations between the two countries.

The best prospects for bilateral cooperation are in the fields of transports, tourism, agriculture, construction and joint ventures at third markets, Stojiljkovic said.

Phone Links With Croatia Restored

LD2012152595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1451 GMT 20 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text]Belgrade, 20 December (Tanjug)—Telephone links between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia were restored today with a phone conversation between Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs Milan Milutinovic and Croatian Minister of Foreign Affairs Mate Granic.

The two ministers emphasized the particular importance of the restauration of all phone links, which should enable citizens both in Croatia and Yugoslavia to communicate normally, a statement by the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs says.

Serbia

Air Force Chief: Combat Readiness 'Acceptable'

AU2112174395 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Dec 95

[Report by Radovan Pantovic—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] On the occasion of 24 December, Air Force and Antiaircraft Defense Day, Commander Lieutenant General Ljubisa Velickovic held a news conference.

[Pantovic] Since 24 December 1912, when the first air force command was formed in Nis, we have known both success and falls, but have nevertheless continued to strive toward heights, speed, and some sort of progress, Lt. Gen. Ljubisa Velickovic, commander of the Air Force and Antiaircraft Defense said. He assessed that the past four years had been particularly difficult, but, thanks to the extreme efforts of the Air Force units, an acceptable level of combat readiness has been maintained.

[Velickovic] We have retained our personnel and technology; we were relieved when peace came, and we believe that better days lie ahead.

[Pantovic] In response to a question, Gen. Velickovic stated that Yugoslavia's and the Yugoslav Army's stance toward the Partnership for Peace [PFP] program was dependent on a political decision.

He added that the state of the economy and the budget made it necessary for the Air Force to be rational, so that development plans and the procurement of new technology would depend on the economy. Our peaceful policy does not make it necessary for us to procure new technology, but we have to keep in mind that our neighbors have different ideas. The general military conditions, the Air Force and Antiaircraft Defense chief said, make it necessary to adjust the military doctrine to accommodate the Air Force's greater role. In our circumstances, this means developing our antiaircraft defense in particular. [passage omitted]

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Release of 'Srebrenica Muslims' Reported

AU2012210995 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 95 p 16

[Report by Z. Trnusic: "The Release of Srebrenica Muslims Has Started"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Uzice—The release and deportation of around 400 Srebrenica Muslims who were arrested on Serbian territory last summer and accommodated in the shacks of a factory in Branesko Polje at the foot of Zlatibor Mountain has started under the supervision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia, the representatives of international humanitarian organizations, and officials of several consulates in Belgrade.

Although there is no official information about the liberation of the members of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, NASA BORBA sources in Uzice claim that all the prisoners will leave the territory of the FRY before the New Year.

Let us remind you that more than 1,000 Muslims sought refuge on Serbian territory, or in the Drina and Tara regions, fleeing from the offensive of the Army of the Serb Republic against the former UN protected Muslim enclave of Srebrenica. There they were arrested by members of the Yugoslav Army. A group of 400 captives was accommodated in Branesko Polje, whereas the others were transferred to other places on the territory of the FRY.

Judging by the statements issued by several Uzice physicians who were in charge of providing medical care for the prisoners accommodated in Branesko Polje, the Muslims were treated according to the stipulations of the Geneva Convention. The same sources claim that the prisoners were visited by representatives of international humanitarian organizations every day, who delivered letters, packages, clothes, shoes, and food. Apart from that, they were able to talk to them without the presence of members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia.

Denying all the stories about numerous casualties, epidemics, and terror committed against them by the members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia, the physicians added that the representatives of the Geneva Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations could confirm the information about the treatment of the prisoners.

We also learned that not a single Muslim expressed the wish to return to his home country; all of them were granted political asylum overseas.

Seselj Accuses Montenegro of Preparing Secession

LD2112181695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1650 GMT 21 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 21 Dec (SRNA)—Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party [Srpska Radikalna Stranka—SRS], today said that "the Assembly of Montenegro has carried out a coup by expelling eight SRS deputies."

"Momir Bulatovic, Milo Djukanovic, and Svetozar Marovic expelled our deputies from the assembly, branding them as illegal and illegitimate representatives of the SRS," Seselj said at today's news conference.

He stressed that this move was made "because of the Serbian radicals' national policy, which does not suit the Montenegrin authorities as they are preparing Montenegro's separation from Serbia."

Helsinki Committee Accuses Serbs of 'Repression'

AU1812083795 Paris AFP in English 0026 GMT 18 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 18 (AFP)—Minorities in Serbia, the dominant component with Montenegro of the rump Yugoslavia, are subject to repression, discrimination and a form of "ethnic cleansing," according to a leading human rights group.

The Helsinki Committee, in its annual report for 1995 obtained by AFP, said that following the peace agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina Belgrade must turn its attention to the minorities making up 35 percent of Serbia's 10 million population.

The report highlighted the situation in Kosovo, a province with an 82 percent majority population of Albanians, where authorities were accused of maltreatment, torture, hostage taking and staging political trials.

But the Helsinki Committee said Kosovo residents were also subject to pressure from the parallel Albanian "government" set up by the Democratic League of Kosovo after the province lost its autonomous status in 1990.

The report also said the situation of the 340,000-strong Hungarian minority in Vojvodina in the north gave cause for alarm that the whole community might eventually disappear.

Hungarians were discriminated against in their work and rarely reached posts of responsibility, the Helsinki Commitee said, noting that five journalists of Hungarian origin had been sacked from the television station in Novi Sad, capital of Vojvodina.

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Some 30,000 young Hungarians had fled the country to avoid being conscripted and sent to the front in Croatia and Bosnia, it claimed, while dozens of families had been turned out of their homes to make room for Serb refugees driven from Croatia.

The report quoted the case of the village of Siladi, where 362 refugees had been settled in a population of 900, of whom 90 percent were of Hungarian origin.

The 250,000 Croats living in Vojvodina were also persecuted, the Helsinki Committee said. Between 1991 and 1995 a total of 45,000 had been expelled.

"The police have never tried to clear up a number of murders of Croats in 1993," the report said.

On the other hand, the 600,000 refugees taken in by Serbia were not treated in accordance with international convention. The 200,000 who fled from the Croatian regions of Krajina and western Slavonia after their recapture by Croatian forces earlier this year enjoyed neither the status of refugee nor freedom of movement, the report said.

The Helsinki Committee said that to avoid trouble many members of ethnic minorities were taking Serb-sounding names, and Bulgarians living in eastern Serbia had been forced to change their names by the authorities.

The report also noted the failure by the authorities to deal with anti-semitic writings. It said that Serbia's Jewish community now numbered no more than 2,600 people, following the departure of 400 as a result of the war.

Kosovo

LDK Refuses To Sign Paris Conference Statement

AU1512142195 Zurich BOTA SOT in Albanian 15 Dec 95 p 4

[Unattributed report: "LDK Did Not Sign the Statement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The statement that the Albanian political parties in Kosova sent yesterday to the Paris Conference was signed by the Parliamentary Party of Kosova (Bajram Kosumi), the Albanian Christian Democratic Party (Mark Krasniqi), the Social Democratic Party of Kosova (Luljeta-Pula-Beqiri), the National Democratic Party of Kosova (Rexhep Abdullahu), the Unikomb [the National Unity Party] (Bajrush Behrami), the Liberal Party of Kosova (Sokol Blakaj), and the Albanian People's Party (Milaim Kadriu).

As one can see, the statement has not been signed by the Democratic League of Kosova [LDK]. According to the information we received from the LDK, their representative was not consulted regarding the text, although it was offered to one of the LDK deputy chairmen to him sign it.

"LDK Did Not Want To Sign the Statement"

Social Democratic Party Chairman Luljeta-Pula-Beqiri declared that "The LDK did not want to sign the statement as the text seemed heavy [rende] to them, which means that they have seen it."

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